THE LEADING AFGHAN CHIEFS: A STUDY OF MUGHAL-AFGHAN RELATIONS

(A.D. 1519-1530)

thesis submitted to
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by
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"CERTIFICATE"

Certified that Shri Tej Ram's thesis entitled "The Leading Afghan chiefs: A Study of Mughal-Afghan Relations (A.D.1519-1530)" has been completed under my supervision. Further certified that the thesis is the original contribution of Shri Tej Ram and is worthy of consideration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

It is, therefore, recommended that the thesis be referred to experts for evaluation.

A R Khan
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ABBREVIATIONS

A.N.	...	<u>Akbarnama</u>
B.M.	...	British Musuem (Library)
B.N.	...	<u>Baburnama</u>
Eng. tr.	...	English translation
f.	...	folio
ff.	...	folios
M.	...	<u>Mushtaqi</u>
M.S.	...	Manuscript
Or.	...	Oriental (collection of the British Museum Library)
p.	...	page
pp.	...	pages
M.T.	...	<u>Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh</u>
T.A.	...	<u>Tabaqat-i Akbari</u>,
T.F.	...	<u>Tarikh-i Firishta</u>
T.S.	...	<u>Tarikh-i Shahi</u>
T.S.S.	...	<u>Tarikh-i Ser Sahi</u>

INTRODUCTION

The establishment of Afghan rule in Hindustan in the middle of the 15th century was a significant event in the history of the Afghans. For the first time a people wedded to democratic and egalitarian polity were faced with the problem of shouldering the responsibility of governing a country like Hindustan. Used to the tribal polity in which there was no ruler or ruled, the Afghans were now confronted with the problem of the application of the traits of this polity to their rule in Hindustan. In their tribal homeland of Roh, on the north-western frontiers of Hindustan, they were organized on egalitarian basis. The notion of monarchy was alien to them. In the tribal polity of the Afghans, the tribal leader was only one among equals. To each Afghan his autonomy was very dear. No Afghan could reconcile himself to a superior authority. The Afghan society was thus organised in the north-western frontier region on a notion of equality, fraternity and kinship. It was with this notion in mind that Sultan Bahlol Lodi organized his rule in Hindustan. But soon the difficulties cropped up. His successor Sultan Sikandar Lodi realised that it was not possible to rule a vast country like Hindustan with the tribal notions of sovereignty which were functionable in the small hilly tract of the country in the north-west. He, therefore, began to adopt

the time-tested institutions with a view to ruling effectively in Hindustan. He, thus, made a distinction between the ruler and the ruled, the king and the nobility. He began to treat his Afghan brethern as his nobles, not as sharers in the prerogatives of kingship. He, however, moved gradually and cautiously, for he gave full respect to the Afghan nobles. But his successor, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, precipitated the crisis by maltreating his Afghan brethern, i.e., his nobility whom he regarded merely as his subjects, which was neither palatable nor acceptable to the powerful Afghan chiefs. This resulted in confrontation and consequent intervention of Babur and the overthrow of the Lodi dynasty.

The problem that arises is that how Babur was able to consolidate his authority in Hindustan and what was the shape of Afghan polity under Babur? To what extent Babur was able to crush or accomodate the Afghan chiefs within the Mughal polity or in the Mughal ruling class to be able to rule in Hindustan?

Further, how was it possible that the Afghans emerged as a major power soon after the death of Babur and even succeeded in overthrowing Humayun and re-establishing their rule in Hindustan? It has been generally assumed that the battle of Panipat was a decisive battle which sealed the fate of the Afghans in Hindustan. Had it been so the Afghans would not have succeeded in re-establishing

their rule in Hindustan. The generalizations about Babur's rule in Hindustan have been made without any attempt at careful examination of the position of the Afghans under Babur. The present thesis, therefore, aims at understandin the clan-wise position of the Afghans during the period under review.

In order to assess the position of the Afghans during the phase of transition of power from the Afghans to the Mughals, we have examined the position of each and every chief. Hence, in the present thesis the biography of each and every Afghan chief whom we find active during the period under review has been worked out. In this way the position and the role of each and every Afghan during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, as well as, under Babur has been highlighted. Having worked out the biographies of the various chiefs we have grouped them clan-wise. Since in a number of cases many members of a family are found conspicuous by their role, we have further grouped the information family-wise. Information regarding various families belonging to the same clan has been grouped under the heading to which these families belonged.

Since the bulk of the work is an exercise in working out the biographies of various chiefs, the repitition has invariably crept in. The reason for this repitition being that often two or more chiefs are mentione

in our sources acting together. As the biographies of the nobles had to be worked out separately, the information regarding individual chiefs had to be sifted and separated. Thus, the events in which two or more than two chiefs are found acting together had to be repeated in the biography of each noble. This was unavoidable as the omission of the event in the biography of any of the chiefs would have minimized the value of the biography, thus defeating the very purpose of highlighting the role of the individual chiefs. To illustrate this point, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, Firoz Khan Sarang Khani, Mahmud Khan Nohani, Qazi Jia were deployed by Babur in the expedition sent to Etawa. Therefore, the reference to Etawa expedition had to be repeated in the biographies of each of the above mentioned four chiefs. Similar repetitions will often be noted elsewhere.

The chapters have been divided clan-wise. When the information about some clans is found meagre, such clans have been grouped together under one chapter. Thus, the Sarwani, the Sur and the Karrani clans have been discussed under one chapter. Besides, we come across a large number of chiefs whose clan identity could not be ascertained. For the sake of clarity we have grouped such chiefs into two separate chapters. Those of the unidentified chiefs who were found active in the vicinity of Agra have been discussed in the chapter captioned

as "Chiefs of the Vicinity of Agra". The remaining have been grouped under the chapter captioned as "Other Unidentified Chiefs". There were many other chiefs who are identifiable by place names not clan names and are designated as Sharqi, Multani, Bhakkari etc. It being difficult to ascertain whether they had Afghan background or not we have not taken the risk of omitting them from our study and discussed them in a separate chapter under the heading "Chiefs Allied to Afghans". Since we also find a number of Hindustani saints actively participating in the politics of the period under review, we have also treated them as components of the Afghan polity and have included them in our study under a separate chapter captioned as "Saintly Personages", irrespective of their affiliations which could have been Afghan or Saiyyid,etc.

At the end of each chapter we have given a resume analysing the position and role of the various families and chiefs during the period under review. Each resume has been treated into two parts. In the first part we have tried to ascertain the position of the individual chief <u>vis-a-vis</u> Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, i.e. whether a particular chief held an <u>iqta</u> under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi or not and what was his relationship with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. In the second part we have discussed the relationship of the respective chief with Babur, i.e. how he came in contact with Babur, the nature and degree of his loyalty

to Babur, the contribution he made to the expansion and consolidation of Babur's authority by rendering military services, or otherwise, and the revenue assignments, if any, conferred upon him by Babur. The salient points emerging from the resumes of various chapters have been taken up for discussion in a consolidated form in the concluding part of the work. Having briefly examined in the conclusion the position of various clans under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi we have taken up discussion of Baburs relationship with the Afghans. Babur's relationship with Afghans has been treated into two parts pre-Panipat and post-Panipat period. In examining Babur's relationship with the Afghans we have tried to examine the alignment and re-alignments of the Afghans and the changing Afghan coalitions during the period under review. But the thrust of the conclusion centres round the position of the chiefs under Babur which was mainly dependent upon the revenue assignments he conferred upon them. Thus, the position of the Afghans, particularly as a ruling class during the reign of Babur, has been highlighted.

The period we have chosen is from A.D.1519 to 1530, the reason being that this was the period of the formation of the Mughal power in Hindustan. The year 1519 as the starting point of the study has been chosen after a careful consideration. It was in this year that Babur for the first time crossed the Indus

and established a footing in Hindustan. It was in this year that he first came in contact with the Afghan chiefs of Hindustan. It was in this year that Ali Khan Lodi, son of Daulat Khan Lodi, submitted to Babur, and the Afghans were obliged to withdraw from Bhira which was occupied by Babur. From 1519 to the time of the battle of Panipat in 1526 major developments in the Mughal-Afghan relations had already taken place, giving Babur the control of most of those parts of Ibrahim Lodi's Sultanat which lay to the north west of Delhi. The year 1530 as the closing point of the study has been chosen for the consideration of feasibility, thus bringing the study to the time of the death of Babur. Feasibility on two accounts: first, the availability of source material; secondly, in the interest of intensive study and establishing a firm footing on the period of Babur with a view to understanding the resurgence of Afghan power in 1540.

The sources we have studied are the contemporary and the near contemporary works on Babur and on the Afghan rule. To begin with, we have started with an intensive study of Babur's memoir which alone contains substantial information on the subject and which has not been adequately used by the historians who have worked on this period. Among the sources on the Afghans, to mention a few, the

Waqiat-i Mushtaqi, the Tarikh-i Daudi, the Tarikh-i Shahi, and the Tarikh-i Ser Sahi have been extensively used. Among the Mughal chronicles the Akbarnama, the Humayunama the Tabaqat-i Akbari, the Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh and the Tarikh-i Firishta have been extensively used, as very often these chronicles greatly supplement our information about the Afghans as given in the Baburnama and the Afghan sources. To begin with, we have consulted the standard English translations of these sources, as well as, the Hindi translations done by S. A. A. Rizvi. The Persian texts have also been consulted with the help of Persian knowing scholars. The works on central Asian history, such as Habib-us Siyar and the Tarikh-i Rashidi have also been consulted, as they also contain useful stray references.

Lastly, a few words may be said about the references. As we have used different editions and translations of the contemporary and near contemporary works, we have avoided abbreviating the titles of these works and have given full particulars of the works in the references. Often, on account of variations in the translations, we have preferred to mention all the editions of the works we have used. However, the abbreviations have been used in the tables and the appendices.

To avoid repitition of references we have, as far as possible, tried not to repeat the references in the résumes of the various chapters unless where a point was deliberately re-emphasised. In the concluding part also we have tried not to repeat the references. However, references for any statement made can be looked for in the biography of the respective chief.

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CHAPTER II

SARANG KHANIS

In this chapter we propose to discuss the Sarang Khani Afghan chiefs. Although they are believed to have belonged to the Lodi clan of the Afghans[1], yet, for want of definite evidence about their being Lodis, we have treated them separately. However, we have not been able to trace any Afghan clan known as Sarang Khani. It seems that Sarang Khani was a title conferred upon one of the Afghan chiefs whose descendants came to be known as Sarang Khani, as suggested by I.H.Siddiqi[2]. During the period under review we come across four Sarang Khani chiefs, namely, Tatar Khan Sarang Khani, Taj Khan Sarang Khani, Firoz Khan Sarang Khani and Hamid Khan, *Khasa Khail*, Sarang Khani. To begin with, we first give below the account of Tatar Khan Sarang Khani.

TATAR KHAN SARANG KHANI

Tatar Khan Sarang Khani was one of the descendants of Sarang Khani family and a son of Jamal Khan Sarang Khani[3]. When Babur occupied Agra, Tatar Khan

1. See I.H.Siddiqi, "The Composition of the Nobility under the Lodi Sultans", *Medieval India: A miscellany*, vol. iv (Aligarh 1977), p. 30.

2. According to I.H.Siddiqi, Sarang Khani was the title of Jamal Khan, a noble of Bahlol and Sikandar Lodi. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-31; See also *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p. 33; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 251.

3. *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p. 33; see also I.H.Siddiqi's article, "The composition of the Nobility under the Lodi Sultans", *Medieval India: A miscellany*, vol. iv, p. 41.

Sarang Khani was in possession of Gwalior[1]. Although he had been professing his loyality to Babur, but was reluctant to wait on him or surrender the fort[2]. But with the occupation of Kandahar by Rana Sanga (July-August, 1526) and his advance on Biana (October-November,1526) when Raja Dharamkot, one of the rajas of Gwalior, began to create trouble in the vicinity of Gwalior, pressing hard on the fort, Tatar Khan Sarang Khani could not help but seek Babur's help[3], and was ready to surrender the fort to Babur. Babur on his part readily availed this opportunity. In spite of the fact that the core of Babur's army was then away on various expeditions, i.e.

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 523; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 414a & 427a; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 251; Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p. 31; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. i, p. 443; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 427; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 638.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 539; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 257; Tarikh-i Firishta, op. cit., pp. 33-34; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, pp. 429-30; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 639.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 539; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 427a-428a; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 257; Tarikh-i Firishta, op. cit., p. 33; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 429-30; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. i, p. 445.

against Hamid Khan in Hisar Firoza, against Biana and with Humayun in the east[1], Babur did not hesitate in making best out of the occasion and somehow managed to send a contingent consisting of the soldiers from Bhira and the Lahoris under the command of Rahim Dad to Gwalior, simultaneously assigning them parganas in Gwalior[2]. Shaikh Ghuran and Mulla Apaq were also sent with the expedition with instructions to return after

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1. Babur writes that when Tatar Khan Sarang Khani asked for help most of his braves were away on various raids. Of the possible raids or expeditions other than that of Humayun in the east, can be the one employed against Biana and another one sent to Hisar Firoza to curb the uprising of Hamid Khan Sarang Khani. The presence of Shaikh Ghuran and Mulla Apaq in the contingent despatched to Gwalior rules out the possibility of the braves being away on an expedition to Sambhal. Shaikh Ghuran and Mulla Apaq who were sent to Sambhal must have returned to Agra by now to be able to accompany Rahim Dad to Gwalior. Beside Biana and Gwalior expeditions, we know of no other expedition sent by Babur about this time. But if we take into account the expedition to Hisar Firoza which was sent on November 15th, 1526, the sending of the expedition to Gwalior and its capture will have to be placed after November 15th so as to leave for Babur's braves to be away on various "raids"-- at least two, one to Biana and the other to Hisar Firoza (apart from Humayun's expedition)-- and would place submission of Nizam Khan of Biana about the time of Hamid Khan Sarang Khani's rebellion, i.e., not before the 2nd fortnight of November which date correlates with the events in Biana and the submission of Nizam Khan of Biana.

2. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 539; B. M. Ms. Or. 3714, ff. 427a-428a. Parganas were not assigned to Shaikh Ghuran and Mulla Apaq but to the soldiers appointed with Rahim Dad.

having established Rahim Dad at Gwalior[1]. By the time Rahim Dad reached Gwalior, Tatar Khan changed his mind, perhaps, for the reason that the immediate threat of the raja was over and therefore he would, now, not welcome Babur's forces. On the other hand, he also entertained a move against the Mughals. But Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior who was a pious man and who, perhaps, considered it a deceit on the part of Tatar Khan, sent a message to Rahim Dad from inside the fort warning him of the evil intentions of Tatar Khan and assuring him his support in order to get him into the fort[2]. On learning of Tatar Khan's designs Rahim Dad took to a strategem. He prayed Tatar Khan that he was in danger from the raja and be granted refuge with some of his followers. Tatar Khan eventually agreed to it and permitted him to enter the fort. During the night Rahim Dad got the gate of the fort opened and brought all of his troops posted outside the gate into the fort[3].

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 539; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 427a-428a; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. i, p. 445; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 639.
2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 539; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 427a-428a; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, op.cit., p.445; Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, pp. 33-34 Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 639.
3. Baburnama, op. cit., pp. 539-40; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 427a-428a; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, op.cit., p.445; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 639.

Taken to surprise by this manoeuvre, Tatar Khan Sarang Khani was forced to surrender the fort to Rahim Dad and come to Agra to wait upon Babur who conferred upon him the pargana of Biawah (Bianwan?) with 20 lacs towards his wajh wa istiqamat[1]. Gwalior thus passed under the possession of Rahim Dad.

In April-May, 1527 Tatar Khan Sarang Khani rendered military service to Babur along with several other Hindustani amirs, namely Malik Dad Karrani, Ali Khan Farmuli and Shaikh Muhammad of Shaikh Bhakhari(?) against Mian Bibban Jilwani who had beseiged Lakhnur, before the battle of Kanwah[2].

It may be noted that in the above context Tatar Khan is mentioned by Babur as Khan-i Jahan[3]. This is the last reference to Tatar Khan in our sources in the period under review.

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 540; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 426b-428a; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 257; Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, pp. 33-34; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. i, p. 445; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, pp. 439-40; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 639.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 582; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 460b-461a; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 267.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 582; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 460b-461a.

TAJ KHAN SARANG KHANI

Taj Khan was another Sarang Khani chief. He was also son of Jamal Khan Lodi Sarang Khani[1], and thus a brother of the above mentioned Tatar Khan. Sultan Ibrahim Lodi had entrusted the fort of Chunar to him[2]. He was in occupation of Chunar till after Babur's occupation of Agra. He came in contact with Babur only when the latter marched against Sultan Mahmud, son of Sultan Sikandar, who had taken possession of Bihar in the beginning of 1529, when Babur was encamped at Koh(?) he received a dutiful letter from Taj Khan Sarang Khani through which he sent a message that Sultan Mahmud Lodi's army had fled away[3].

On March 21,1529 when Babur was camped at Nanapur during his eastward campaign, Taj Khan Sarang Khani came from Chunar with his two young sons and waited upon Babur[4]. Babur then visited the fort of Chunar. On March 25th, 1529 when Babur wished to go for hunting in the jungle of Chunar, Taj Khan Sarang Khani brought

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1. Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. i, p. 470; see also I.H.Siddiqi's article, "The Composition of the Nobility under the Lodi Sultans, Medieval India: A miscellany, vol. iv, p. 30; see also his appendix A. B. Sr. No.23, p. 56.

2. Tarikh-i Ser Sahi, Eng. tr. Ambashthya, p. 201.

3. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 654; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 529a.

4. Ibid., p. 657; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 523a. British Museum, MS. Writes Baqi Khan which is obviously a transcriptional error.

the news that Sultan Mahmud was near the Son river.[1]

On June 1st, 1529 when Mian Bibban and Shaikh Bayzid fled towards Dalmau, Taj Khan Sarang Khani was appointed by Babur along with other begs to block enemy's way near Chunar[2].

On June 8th, 1529 Babur assigned Chunar to Sultan Junaid Barlas[3] and Malik Sharq was appointed to get the fort of Chunar vacated from Taj Khan[4]. Our sources do not mention the reason as to why Taj Khan was required to vacate the fort of Chunar. But it seems that Chunar continued to remain in possession of Taj Khan Sarang Khani during the remaining part of Babur's reign, for in the beginning of Humayun's reign we find Chunar still held in possession of Taj Khan Sarang Khani.[5]

FIROZ KHAN SARANG KHANI

Firoz Khan was also a member of the above mentioned Sarang Khani family. He was the son of Ahmad

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 658; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 523b.

2. Ibid., pp. 681-82; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 516a.

3. Ibid., p. 682; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 516a.

4. Ibid., p. 683; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 516a-b.

5. We are told by the author of Tarikh-i Ser Sahi that Sher Khan took possession of Chunar fort from the widow of Taj Khan Sarang Khani. Tarikh-i Ser Sahi, Eng. tr. Ambashthya, pp. 201-206; see also Stewart, History of Bengal, p. 136.

Khan and, thus, a grand son of Jamal Khan Lodi Sarang Khani.[1] Firoz Khan Sarang Khani was earlier in the service of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and had rendered military service to him along with Mustafa Farmuli, and, later on, with Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli against the rebellious Afghan amirs of the east, namely Nasir Khan Nohani, Maruf Farmuli and Fath Khan Sarwani[2].

Soon after Babur's occupation of Agra, Firoz Khan Sarang Khani came and joined Babur's service along with several other Afghan amirs, namely Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, Mahmud Khan and Qazi Jia. Babur favoured Firoz Khan Sarang Khani by assigning him 1 crore 46 lacs and 5,000 tankas from Jaunpur.[3]

In August, 1526, when Babur sent a military expedition against Qutab Khan of Etawa, Firoz Khan Sarang Khani, along with several other Hindustani amirs was

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1. See I.H.Siddiqi, Mughal Relation with the Indian Ruling Elite (New Delhi, 1983), p. 22.

2. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 527; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 417a; Waqiat-i Mushtaqi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, part i, p. 161.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 527; Persian version has given only "one crore and something", see B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 417a; see also Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 253; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. i p. 444; Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p. 32; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 428; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 638. This assignment was most probably made towards the end of the year 1526 i.e. after Humayun had overrun Jaunpur. see Baburnama, p. 544.

appointed in this expedition[1]. But later on this expedition was recalled by Babur and ordered to join Humayun in his expedition against the eastern rebellious Afghan chiefs, namely Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli[2]. Thus, Firoz Khan Sarang Khani also served in the expedition of Humayun against the eastern Afghans. Firoz Khan Sarangi Khani died in the beginning of the year 1528.[3]

HAMID KHAN KHASA KHAIL

Hamid Khan, Khasa Khail, was another prominent Sarang Khani chief. His relationship with the preceding three Sarang Khani chiefs is not ascertain. At the time of Babur's crossing Sutlej river in 1526 he was the Shiqdar of Hisar Firoza. In February 1526, when Babur was encamped near Banur and Sanur he heard the news that Sultan Ibrahim Lodi had sent Hamid Khan Sarang Khani, the Shiqdar of Hisar Firoza to oppose him. On February 25th 1526 when Babur reached near Ambala, he appointed Humayun against Hamid Khan Sarang Khani, along with

1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 530; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 420b.

2. Ibid., p. 531; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 421a-b.

3. The date of his death is given as 3rd January, 1528 in the inscription on his tomb at Rohtak, see Epigraphia Indica (Arabic and Persian Supplement) edited by Dr. Z. A. Desai, Calcutta, 1966, p. 57, as quoted by I.H. Siddiqi in Mughal Relation with the Indian Ruling Elite, p. 22.

several other amirs[1]. On February 26th 1526 Humayun marched swiftly against Hamid Khan and he defeated him after an encounter, killing several Afghans, and brought 100 of them as prisoners together with 7 to 8 elephants[2]. On March 5th, Babur ordered Ustad Ali Quli and the match-lockmen to shoot all the prisoners as an exemplary punishment[3]. Babur also assigned Hisar Firoza to Humayun as reward for his victory over Hamid Khan.

In November, 1526, Hamid Khan Sarang Khani collected 3 to 4 thousand Afghans, including Pani Afghans, in the neighbourhood of Hisar Firoza and started trouble for Babur. Therefore, on November 15th, Babur appointed Chin Timur Sultan against Hamid Khan along with several Hindustani amirs like Malik Dad Karrani and Mujahid Khan of Multan. The expeditionary forces suddenly fell on Hamid Khan Sarang Khani and defeated them[4]. Although a number of Afghans were killed, yet Hamid Khan Sarang Khani seems to have escaped and is never heard of again.

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 465; Tarikh-i Daudi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 446; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 634; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. ii, p. 240; Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p. 27.
2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 466; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 634; Tarikh-i Firishta, op. cit. pp.27-28; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 240; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. i, p. 439.
3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 466; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, op. cit., p. 439; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 241;
4. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 540; Tarikh-i Firishta, op. cit., p.34; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 639.

A RESUME

As discussed above, we notice that only four Sarang Khani Afghan chiefs were active during the period under review. Excepting Hamid Khan, Khasa Khail, Sarang Khani, we have definite evidence that the other three Sarang Khanis were related to each other. It seems that the Sarang Khanis held trusted positions under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Three out of the four Sarang Khani chiefs whose biographies we have worked out held territorial assignment at the time of Babur's final invasion of Hindustan as is evident from the following table.

Table No.1

Sr.No.	Name	Name of the pargana/ territory held at the time of Babur's invasion	Reference
1.	Hamid Khan Sarang Khani	Hisar Firoza	B.N.ii/465
2.	Tatar Khan Sarang Khani	Gwalior	B.N.ii/523
3.	Taj Khan Sarang Khani	Chunar	Tarikh-i Ser Sahi, p. 200.

The Sarang Khanis seem to have remained loyal to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, for we do not come across any Sarang Khani chief in rebellion against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Firoz Khan Sarang Khani had in fact rendered military service to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi along with

Mustafa Farmuli against Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli who had raised the standard of revolt in the eastern part of the Lodi empire. Hamid Khan, Khasa Khail, Sarang Khani was among those Afghan chiefs of the region to the north-west of Delhi who had remained loyal to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi even in the event of Babur's occupation of the Panjab. It was Hamid Khan, Khasa Khail, Sarang Khani who was sent by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi to oppose the advance of Babur in Sirhind in February 1526.

Passing on to Babur's relations with the Sarang Khani Afghans, it may be mentioned that none of the Sarang Khani chiefs allied himself with Babur till his authority was firmly established in Agra. Hamid Khan, Khasa Khail, Sarang Khani who first came in contact with Babur, in fact never submitted to him. As mentioned above, he was sent by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi to check Babur's advance. Although he lost to Babur, yet he did not submit to him. He did not submit to Babur even after the latter's occupation of Agra, when most of the Afghan chiefs who were even loyal to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi were obliged to submit to Babur. In November-December, 1526, Hamid Khan even mobilized a body of his own Afghans and the Panni Afghans to the number of 3,000 to 4,000 and created disturbances for Babur near Hisar Firoza. Babur was obliged to send an expedition against him under the command of Chin Timur Sultan. Hamid Khan, Khasa Khail,

Sarang Khani was defeated once again, but he managed to escape and never surrendered to Babur.

Among the other Sarang Khanis it was Firoz Khan Sarang Khani who first submitted to Babur; and he submitted voluntarily. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, he came and waited upon Babur sometime in May-June 1526 along with other Afghan chiefs, namely, Mahmud Khan Nohani, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Qazi Jia. He was then given an assignment of 1 crore 46 lacs and 5,000 <u>tankas</u> from Jaunpur.[1]

The Sarang Khani chief of Gwalior, Tatar Khan Sarang Khani, tried to evade submission to Babur even after Babur's occupation of Agra. He was, however, forced to submit to Babur and surrender the fort of Gwalior towards the end of the year 1526 in the circumstances mentioned earlier in his biography. Taj Khan Sarang Khani also seems to have evaded submission to Babur till the beginning of 1529. But when we first notice him in 1529, we find him in allegiance to Babur, for it was he who reported to Babur about the movements of Sultan Mahmud Lodi, the son of Sikandar Lodi. Apparently, he too must have submitted to Babur under the fear of Sultan Mahmud Lodi. His sons also submitted to Babur and waited upon Babur along with him in March 1529

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1. <u>Baburnama</u>, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 527.

Those of the Sarang Khani chiefs who submitted to Babur were favoured by him with territorial assignments. We are told that Firoz Khan Sarang Khani was given an assignment of 1 crore 46 lacs and 5000 tankas from Jaunpur.[1] It may be noted that Firoz Khan Sarang Khani held Jaunpur under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. But he must have lost Jaunpur to Maruf Farmuli and Nasir Khan Nohani, who, as Babur tells us, had over-run the whole country from Bihar to Qanauj and were encamped near Qanauj at the time of his occupation of Agra. However, the Mughals, after driving Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli as far back as Bihar, made a revenue assignment to Firoz Khan Sarang Khani from the territory which he had earlier held. Tatar Khan Sarang Khani too was assigned the territory of the value of 20 lacs, from Bianwan(?). It may be noted that Tatar Khan Sarang Khani was not allowed to retain Gwalior which he was holding at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra. We shall discuss the reasons for the change in his assignment in the concluding part of this work. As far as Taj Khan Sarang Khani was concerned, he was allowed to retain Chunar till June 1529, when it was assigned to Sultan Junaid Barlas. But it seems that Chunar remained in possession of Taj Khan Sarang Khani throughout Babur's reign, for we are

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 527.

told that it was captured by Sher Khan Sur from Taj Khan Sarang Khani's widow during the reign of Humayun. The following table spells out the assignments made by Babur to the Sarang Khanis.

Table No.II

Sr.No.	Name of the *pargana* holder	Name of the *pargana*/ territory	Value in *tankas*				Reference
			Cr.	Lac.	Th.	Hund.	
1.	Firoz Khan Sarang Khani	Jaunpur	1	48	5	-	B.N.ii/527
2.	Tatar Khan Sarang Khani	Bianwan	-	20	-	-	B.N.ii/540
3.	Taj Khan Sarang Khani	Chunar	value not mentioned				B.N.ii/654

All the Sarang Khani chiefs who submitted to Babur rendered him military services on various occasions. Tatar Khan Sarang Khani served Babur in the military expedition against Mian Bibban Jilwani in April-May 1527 along with a number of other Hindustani *amirs*. Taj Khan Sarang Khani also rendered military service to Babur against Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli in June 1528, while Firoz Khan Sarang Khani was also appointed by Babur in Etawa expedition in August 1526 and later served under Humayun against Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli, as can be seen from the following table.

Table No.III

Sr.No.	Name	Military service rendered against	Date of military service	Reference
1.	Tatar Khan Sarang Khani	Against Mian Bibban Jilwani who had besei-ged Lucknur before the battle of Kanwah	April-May 1527	B.N.ii/58
2.	Taj Khan Sarang Khani	Against Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli near Chunar	June 1st, 1529	B.N.ii/68
3.	Firoz Khan Sarang Khani	In the Etawa expedition and later under Humayun against Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli	August-December, 1526	B.N.ii/53 53

Of the three Sarang Khani chiefs who submitted to Babur, Firoz Khan Sarang Khani pre-deceased Babur, while Taj Khan Sarang Khani survived Babur. As far as Tatar Khan is concerned, he is last mentioned in our sources in April-May 1527. Hamid Khan, Khasa Khail, Sarang Khani, of course, remained unsubdued.

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CHAPTER III

NOHANIS

The Nohani clan of the Afghans was very powerful under the Lodis. A large number of Nohani chiefs held important *iqtas* during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Although the Nohani chiefs seem to have enjoyed *iqtas* in different parts of the Lodis kingdom, yet they mainly concentrated in the eastern part of the Lodi empire. Bihar was the stronghold of the Nohanis in the east. The Nohani family which played a very conspicuous role under the Lodis was the family of Darya Khan Nohani. We, therefore, begin with an account of the Nohani chiefs belonging to this family.

FAMILY OF DARYA KHAN NOHANI

BIHAR KHAN NOHANI

Bihar Khan Nohani (Pahar Khan) was the son of Darya Khan Nohani[1]. After the death of Darya Khan Nohani, he succeeded his father as the *muqtai* of Bihar. Bihar Khan Nohani declared himself independent against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, assumed the title of Sultan Muhammad

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1. *Tarikh-i Ser Sahi*, Eng. tr. Ambashthya (Patna, 1974), p. 207.

and read Khutba in his name and issued coins.[1] He defeated the forces of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in several engagements[2]. When Babur occupied Agra after defeating Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat, Bihar Khan Nohani was then ruling Bihar independently.[3]

Babur tells us that at the time of the battle of Panipat Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli the generals of Bihar Khan were in occupation of Qanauj and were "holding whole of the country beyond it". Thus, Bihar Khan Nohani dominated the whole area from Bihar in the east, upto Qanauj in the west, at the time of Babur's victory at Panipat[4]. Babur further tells us that

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 523; Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. i, p. 349; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. i p. 435; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, part i, pp. 238-39; Tarikh-i Daudi, Hindi tr. Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, part i, p. 304; Tarikh-i Shahi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, part i, p. 348; Afsana-i Shahan, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, part i, p. 349.

2. Tarikh-i Firishta, op. cit.,pp. 349-50.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 523; Tarikh-i Firishta, op. cit., vol. i, p. 349; Waqiat-i Mushtaqi, Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, vol. i, p. 161; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Uttar Timur Kalin, Bharat, part i, pp. 138-39; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 251.

4. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 523; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, op. cit., pp. 443-44; Tarikh-i Firishta, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 31; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 427; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 251.

at the time of his occupation of Agra, these amirs having taken Qanauj had crossed the Ganges with an army of 40 to 50 thousand and had marched three to four miles ahead of the river Ganges and posed a threat to Agra[1]. Babur appointed Humayun against these Afghans. Though Humayun succeeded in driving back Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli as far as Kharid in the east, yet Sultan Muhammad seems to have reigned supreme in Bihar till his death. Thereafter, his son and successor, Jalal Khan Nohani, submitted to Babur in May, 1529[2].

JALAL KHAN NOHANI

Jalal Khan Nohani was the son of the above mentioned Bihar Khan who had declared himself independent in Bihar during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. There is no reference in our sources regarding any relationship between Babur and Jalal Khan Nohani prior to the year 1529. He perhaps, remained independent in Bihar for some time. But on March 31,1529 when Babur, while marching against Sultan Mahmud Lodi, was encamped at Ghazipur, he received letters from Jalal Khan Nohani, Farid Khan Nohani, Sher Khan Sur, Alaul Khan Sur and some other Afghan amirs[3]. Soon afterwards, on April 16, 1529 Babur

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 530.
2. Ibid., pp. 533-34.
3. Ibid., p. 659; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 524b.

received an envoy from Jalal Khan Nohani and his mother Dudu informing him that they had fought with the Bengalis and succeeded in escaping from them and were on their way to wait upon Babur[1]. Babur responded by sending encouraging _farmans_ to Jalal Khan Nohani and his mother Dudu through Shaikh Jamali on April 16, 1529[2].

In response to Shaikh Jamali's mission Jalal Khan Nohani came with his important nobles and waited upon Babur on May 16, 1529. Having conferred an assignment of 50 lacs from Bihar upon Mahmud Khan Nohani and having fixed one crore as _Khalisa_ from Bihar, Babur restored the rest of the revenues of Bihar, i.e. 2 crore 55 lacs and 60 thousand _tankas_ to Jalal Khan Nohani who, on his part, also agreed to pay one crore as _khidmatana_ to Babur. Mulla Ghulam, the _Yasawal_, was sent to realize this amount[3]. Jalal Khan thus accepted Babur's overlordship.

NASIR KHAN NOHANI

Nasir Khan Nohani was the brother of Darya Khan Nohani[4] and an uncle of Bihar Khan Nohani. He was

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1. _Baburnama_, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 664; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 505b.
2. _Ibid._, p. 665; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 506b.
3. _Ibid._, p. 676; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 513b. _Tarikh-i Alfi_, Hindi tr. Rizvi, _Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur_, p. 645.
4. _Afsana-i Shahan_, Hindi tr. Rizvi, _Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat_, vol. i, p. 388.

in possession of Ghazipur during Sultan Sikandar Lodi's reign[1]. He seems to have continued to held Ghazipur even during the reign of Ibrahim Lodi. Nasir Khan Nohani and his brother Darya Khan Nohani had rendered military services to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi on several occasions[2]. But, later on, his relations with Ibrahim Lodi severed. Nasir Khan Nohani was called to the court by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, but for the fear of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi he evaded the visit to the court. Thereupon, Sultan Ibrahim Lodi sent an expedition against Nasir Khan Nohani under the command of Mian Bayzid Farmuli. Nasir Khan Nohani was defeated by the royal forces[3], and subsequently forced to retire towards Bihar[4].

When Babur occupied Agra after defeating Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat, at that time Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli were the master of the territories to the east of Qanauj. These amirs were in rebellion against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi for 3 to 4 years before his death. They recognised Bihar Khan

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1. Afsana-i Shahan, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, vol. i, p. 389.
2. Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, vol. i, pp. 235-238; Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. i. 349.
3. Afsana-i Shahan, op. cit., p. 388.
4. Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. i, p. 434, Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 428; Afsana-i Shahan, Hindi tr. Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, part i, p. 389.

Nohani as their Padshah under the title Sultan Muhammad[1].

Towards the end of August 1526, Nasir Khan Nohani along with Maruf Farmuli marched towards Agra[2]. In order to deal with them Babur sent an expedition against them under the command of Humayun[3]. Humayun marched from Agra against the above mentioned Afghan amirs[4]. Babur tells us that these chiefs had collected 40 to 50 thousands Afghans, taken Qanauj and were threatening Agra[5]. Sensing threat from them Babur even recalled the expeditions despatched towards Dholpur and Etawa and ordered them to join the aforesaid expedition.

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 523; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 417a; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 251; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. i, p. 444; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 638.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 530; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, op. cit., p. 444; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, pp. 638-39;

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 531; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, op. cit., p. 444; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 256; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, pp. 638-39.

4. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 530.

5. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 530; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 256; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 429; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 638.

On August 21st, 1526 when Humayun set out against them, Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli were at that time encamped in Jajmau. When Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli came to know about the march of Humayun they fled away from Jajmau which was then captured[1] by Humayun.

After capturing Jajmau from Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli, Humayun marched further and took Jaunpur, and then marched swiftly against Nasir Khan Nohani towards Ghazipur. Nasir Khan Nohani crossed river Ganges[2] and fled away, not to be heard of again.

FARID KHAN NOHANI

Farid Khan Nohani was the son of the above mentioned Nasir Khan Nohani[3]. We do not come across any reference to Farid Khan Nohani until the year 1529. On March 31st, 1529, when Babur was encamped in Ghazipur, he tells us that from among other Afghans he also received a dutiful letter from Farid Khan Nohani[4]. We cannot say

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, pp. 533-34; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 256; Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 432; Waqiat-i Mushtaqi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 439.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 544; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 256; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, op. cit., p. 444; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 638.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 659.

4. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 659.

with certainty as to whether he personally waited upon Babur or not.

SAIF KHAN NOHANI

Saif Khan Nohani was the son of Darya Khan Nohani[1], and as such, a brother of Bihar Khan Nohani. There is only one reference to him in our sources during the period under review. From this solitary reference to him it appears that, like many other Afghan chiefs, he too was not happy with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. It was perhaps for this reason that we notice him among the followers of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, when the later went to attack Delhi and had a fight with the forces of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi[2]. However, Saif Khan Nohani, deserted Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi along with some other Afghan chiefs and joined Sultan Ibrahim Lodi just before the actual fighting took place[3].

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 659.
2. Ibid., pp. 456-57.
3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 457; It may be noted that in Mrs. Beveridge's English translation of the Baburnama, it is not mentioned that Saif Khan Nohani after deserting Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi joined Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. It only says that Saif Khan Nohani deserted Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan, but in the Turkish text of the Baburnama, (Luzac & Co., London, 1971, f. 257a), as well as in the Persian translation (B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 356b), it is clearly mentioned that Saif Khan, after deserting Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, went to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.

OTHER NOHANI CHIEFS

We now pass on to the account of other Nohani chiefs who were not related to the family of Darya Khan Nohani of Bihar. Some of these chiefs, as discussed below, belonged to the eastern region, while others were operating in different parts of the sultanat of Ibrahim Lodi.

BHIKKAN KHAN NOHANI

Bhaikkan Khan was one of those amirs of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi who was active in the north-west. Firishta mentions him as one of the amirs of the Panjab[1]. There is the only reference to him, i.e., in the year 1524, when he along with Bihar Khan Lodi and Mubarak Khan Lodi came in conflict with Babur. In 1524, when Babur came to the Panjab on the request of Daulat Khan Lodi, the latter was then sheltering with the Baloches, as he had left Lahore for the fear of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's forces. As we are told by Babur, he came into direct conflict with the forces of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi commanded by Bhikkan Khan Nohani, Bihar Khan Lodi and Mubarak Khan Lodi near Lahore. After defeating these Afghan chiefs Babur occupied Lahore[2]. Thereafter, we do not know about the activities of Bhikkan Khan Nohani.

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1. Tarikh-i Firishta, Urdu translation, p. 460.
2. Ibid., Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p. 30.

ALAUL KHAN NOHANI

We notice Alaul Khan Nohani for the first time in the year 1529. On May 16th, 1529 Babur concluded a peace settlement with the Nohani Afghans of Bihar. On May 21st 1529, when Babur was encamped in the Nirhun pargana of Kharid on the north side of Saru river, Alaul Khan Nohani came along with five to six amirs, namely Ismail Jilwani and Auliya Ashraqi and waited upon Babur[1]. Babur fixed wajh for Alaul Khan Nohani from Sarwar and gave him leave[2]. Alaul Khan Nohani remained in attendence on Babur for a short while. But soon afterwards he and Ismail Jilwani represented to Babur and requested him for leave to visit their watan. They promised that they would come to Agra[3]. Babur agreed to their request. While giving leave to Alaul Khan it was settled that he, along with other Afghans, would leave a son or a younger brother to be permanently stationed in attendence upon Babur[4].

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1. Baburname, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 677; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 515a.

2. Ibid., B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 514a. This reference is missing in the Hydrabad Codex.

3. Ibid., p. 680.

4. Ibid., B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 514a. This reference is not available in the Turkish text. Mrs.Beveridge has taken it from some other manuscripts, see Baburname, op. cit., p. 680.

MAHMUD KHAN NOHANI

Mahmud Khan Nohani was one of those *amirs* of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi who were appointed with Mustafa Farmuli and Firoz Khan Sarang Khani against the rebellious nobles of the east. After the death of Mustafa Farmuli, when his charge was undertaken by his younger brother Shaikh Bayzid, Mahmud Khan Nohani acted with Shaikh Bayzid.[1]

At the time of Babur's occupation of Lahore in the year 1524, Mahmud Khan Nohani seems to have waited upon Babur, for Babur tells us that he had been granted a *pargana* by him in Lahore district in 1524.[2] But in 1525, when Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, having deserted Babur, marched against Sultan Ibrahim, Mahmud Khan was in his service. Again, just before the fighting between Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, he deserted Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi and defected to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi[3]. It is not known whether he

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1. *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 527; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 416b-417a.

2. *Ibid*., p. 455.

3. *Ibid*., p. 457; It may be noted that in Mrs.Beveridge's English translation of the *Baburnama*, it is not mentioned that Mahmud Khan Nohani after deserting Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi joined Sultan Ibrahim or not. It only says that Mahmud Khan Nohani deserted Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, but in Turkish text of the *Baburnama*, (Luzac & Co., London 1971, f. 356a), as well as, in the Persian translation (B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 356b), it is clearly mentioned that Mahmud Khan Nohani after deserting Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi went to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.

served Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat or not, but soon after Babur's occupation of Agra Mahmud Khan Nohani came and waited upon Babur along with Firoz Khan Sarang Khani, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Qazi Jia. Babur says that they were favoured beyond their expectations or claims. Mahmud Khan Nohani was conferred an assignment of 90 lacs and 35 thousand from Ghazipur.[1]

In August 1526, when Babur conferred Etawa upon Mahdi Khwaja and sent an expedition against Qutab Khan of Etawa, Mahmud Khan Nohani was also sent in this expedition[2]. But, since this expedition was recalled and ordered to join Humayun in his expedition against Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli, Mahmud Khan Nohani served under Humayun in his eastern expedition.[3] Mahmud Khan Nohani seems to have been left by Humayun in Ghazipur before his return to Agra. We next hear of Mahmud Khan Nohani in the year 1529. On March 31, 1529 when Babur on his march towards Bihar was encamped near Ghazipur, Mahmud Khan Nohani came and waited upon Babur.[4]

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 527; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 417a; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 253.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 530; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 420b.

3. Ibid., p. 531, B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 421a-b.

4. Ibid., p. 659; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 524b.

Later on he served in one of the four divisions of the army constituted by Babur for action in the battle of Ghagra. He served in the division which consisted of the Uzbek Sultans.[1]

After the battle of Ghagra Mahmud Khan Nohani was once again favoured by Babur and was conferred an assignment of 50 lacs from Bihar[2]. In June 1529, Mahmud Khan Nohani was appointed with Muhammad Zaman Mirza, Sultan Junaid Barlas and a number of Hindustani nobles to march against Mian Bibban and Shaikh Bayzid to block their passage at Chunar[3]. Thereafter, we do not come across any reference to Mahmud Khan Nohani.

YAHYA NOHANI

Yahya Nohani is first mentioned in the year 1529. He waited upon Babur in May 1529, the day Jalal Khan Nohani, son of Bihar Khan Nohani, waited upon Babur. Babur says that he had earlier sent his younger

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 669; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 508b.

2. Ibid., p. 676; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 513b.

3. Ibid., p. 682; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 516a.

brother and professed his allegiance to him and was sent an encouraging farman.[1]

A month later, on June 8, 1529, Babur conferred an assignment of 15 lacs upon Yahya Nohani from Sarwar[2] and bestowed a sarupa upon him. Thereupon, Yahya Nohani was given leave, not to be heard of again.

YOUNGER BROTHER OF YAHYA NOHANI

There is only one reference to the younger brother of the above mentioned Yahya Nohani in Babur's memoirs. On May, 1529 Babur concluded a peace settlement with the Nohani Afghans of Bihar following which several Nohani Afghans joined Babur's service. On the above mentioned date Yahya Nohani also waited upon Babur.

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 676; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 513a. It may be pointed out that one Yahya Nohani waited upon Babur in 1519 when Babur was in Afghanistan and received a khilat from him, Baburnama, Eng. tr. vol. i, p. 416; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 341a. Since the man by the name Yahya Nohani who waited upon Babur in Afghanistan is mentioned by Babur as the sardar of the Hindustani saudagars, Yahya Nohani under discussion seems to be a different person. Moreover, the manner in which Babur introduces Yahya Nohani in his memoirs in the account of the year 1529 without making any reference to his earlier meeting with him in Afghanistan, he seems to be different from the Yahya Nohani mentioned as the chief of the Hindustani traders; see also Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat Babur, p. 645.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., pp. 683-84; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 517a. According to Mrs. Beveridge, Yahya Nohani was given an assignment from Parsarur, which seems to be a misreading, as both the Persian text and the Turkish text (Hydrabad codex f. 379a) clearly mention Sarwar.

Yahya Nohani had already sent his younger brother as a token of submission[1]. But the name of the younger brother of Yahya Nohani is not mentioned in our sources. There-after, we do not come across any reference to him.

HUSAIN KHAN NOHANI OF RAPRI

Husain Khan Nohani was the Afghan chief who was in possession of Rapri at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra[2]. He continued to hold Rapri for quite sometime after the occupation of Agra by Babur. But two to three months later when Rana Sanga occupied Kandahar from Hasan of Makan, Babur says that Husain Khan Nohani became afraid of Rana Sanga and abandoned it. On hearing of the evacuation of Rapri by Husain Khan Nohani, Babur assigned it to Muhammad Ali Jang Jang[3].

However, with the advance of Rana Sanga towards Biana (December 1526) when Babur's forces mobilized in that direction, Husain Khan Nohani re-occupied Rapri[4] and remained unsubdued for another few months until the storm of Rana Sanga was over to spare time to Babur for the final blow to Husain Khan.

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 676; B. M. MS Or. 3714, f. 513a.

2. Ibid., p. 523; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 251; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 638.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 530.

4. Ibid., p. 557.

On his return to Agra (25 April, 1527), after the mopping up operations of Kanwah, Babur sent Muhammad Ali Jang Jang, who had been assigned Rapri, with Quj Beg's brother, Tardi Beg, Abdul Malik and Hasan Khan with his Darya Khanis to recover Rapri from Husain Khan Nohani[1]. As they reached near Rapri, Husain Khan Nohani's followers moved for a resistance but they were forced to flee. Husain Khan Nohani, too, took to flight and was drowned into the Jumna[2] while crossing the river.

A RESUME

Out of the above mentioned eleven Nohani chiefs whose biographies we have worked out, five belonged to a single family, i.e. the family of Bihar Khan Nohani of Bihar. These five were Bihar Khan Nohani, his brother Saif Khan Nohani, his son Jalal Khan Nohani, his uncle Nasir Khan Nohani (brother of Darya Khan Nohani) and his cousin Farid Khan Nohani, the son of Nasir Khan Nohani. Bihar Khan Nohani and his uncle Nasir Khan Nohani were already in rebellion against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi when Babur came to grips with the Sultan at Panipat. Jalal Khan Nohani was also with his father Bihar Khan Nohani,

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, pp. 581-82.

2. Ibid., p. 582; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 642.

and, as such, in opposition to Ibrahim Lodi. Saif Khan Nohani, the brother of Bihar Khan Nohani, also seems to have been unhappy with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, for we are told by Babur that he was among the followers of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi when the latter marched against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in 1525[1], although just before the battle at Hodal he defected to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.

The Nohanis were very powerful in Bihar and in the eastern regions bordering with Bihar from the time of Sultan Sikandar Lodi. Bihar Khan's father Darya Khan was the muqtai of Bihar during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi[2]. After the death of his father, Darya Khan Nohani, the iqta Bihar passed to Bihar Khan Nohani.[3] Ghazipur was also held by Nasir Khan Nohani, the uncle of Bihar Khan Nohani. Bihar Khan Nohani was one of those Afghan chiefs who had rebelled against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Bihar Khan Nohani had even declared himself an independent ruler by assuming the title of Sultan Muhammad Khan, while the other Nohani chiefs had only revolted against Ibrahim Lodi. By the time of the battle of Panipat, the Nohani ruler, Bihar Khan Nohani, had

1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 457.

2. Tarikh-i Ser Sahi, Eng. tr. Ambashthya, p. 207, Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, part, i, p. 215.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 523; Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. i, p. 349; Tabaqat-i Akbari, op. cit., pp. 138-39.

greatly expanded his power and had even mobilized the support of the Farmuli chief, Maruf Farmuli. As Babur tells us, Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli had overrun the whole country from Bihar upto Qanauj by the time of the battle of Panipat[1].

Among the Nohani chiefs who were loyal to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, mention be made of Bhikkan Khan Nohani whom we find among the commanders of the army which was sent by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi against Daulat Khan Lodi in the year 1524[2]. However, the attitude of Mahmud Khan Nohani in the conflict of Ibrahim Lodi with his nobility seems to have been wavering. In the year 1524, he seems to have submitted to Babur, for we are told that he was given a pargana by Babur in the district of Lahore[3]. Later on, he was in the retinue of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi in his bid to overthrow Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the year 1525, but just before the battle between Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi he deserted Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi and defected to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi along with Saif Khan Nohani and Shaikh Jamal Farmuli.

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 523.
2. Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p. 24.
3. Baburnama, op. cit., pp. 455-56.

The other Nohani chief who might have remained loyal to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi was Husain Khan Nohani of Rapri. He was the only chief who held an <u>iqta</u> near Agra, i.e. outside the area of demination of the Nohanis. The role of Alaul Khan Nohani, Yahya Nohani and his brother is not known under Sultan Ibrahim. It seems that Sultan Ibrahim Lodi commanded very little support of the Nohanis.

Given the power of the Nohanis, as described above, it was not an easy task for Babur to subjugate the Nohanis. The only Nohani chief who voluntarily submitted to Babur was Mahmud Khan Nohani whom we do not find holding any territory during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and whose role in the anti-Ibrahim Lodi politics was that of a lukeworm. He was the first of the Nohani chiefs to have **submitted** to Babur, for we know that he was given a <u>pargana</u> in Lahore district by Babur, obviously in the year 1524[1]. But when Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi having made a breach with Babur marched against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in 1525, Mahmud Khan Nohani joined Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, but only to defect to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. We do not know whether he fought with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat or not,

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1. <u>Baburnama</u>, Turkish text, Luzac & Co., London, 1971, f. 257a; Persian translation, B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 356b.

but soon after Babur's occupation of Agra, he came and waited upon him[1].

Mahmud Khan Nohani was the only Nohani chief whom we find rendering military service to Babur. Ever since Mahmud Khan's waiting upon Babur after his occupation of Agra, till 1529, we find Mahmud Khan Nohani rendering military service to Babur on various occasions[2]. He was first associated with Etawa expedition sent against Qutab Khan and then with Humayun's expedition against Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli in the year 1526. Later on, he was also associated with one of the army divisions, constituted by Babur for action in the battle of Ghagra. On June 15th, 1529, he was appointed against Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli.

From the time of the submission of Mahmud Khan Nohani till 1529, no Nohani chief submitted to Babur. Although Babur succeed in occupying Rapri towards the end of the 1526, yet, its chief Husain Khan Nohani remained unsubjugated to re-occupy Rapri before the battle of Kanwah. Husain Khan Nohani ultimately died by drowning in the river Jumna at the time of crossing Jumna in the

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1. <u>Baburnama</u>, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 527.

2. <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 530-31, 669, 682; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, <u>ff.</u> 420b, 421a-b, 508b, 516a.

event of Mughal operations against him to recover Rapri from him in May 1527.[1]

Among other Nohani chiefs whose biographies we have given above, Nasir Khan Nohani, Bihar Khan Nohani and Saif Khan Nohani never submitted to Babur. Although Nasir Khan Nohani was driven by Humayun as far back as Bihar in the course of his eastern expedition in August 1526, yet he could not be subdued during the course of this expedition. No reference is traceable to him thereafter despite the fact that he survived Babur. There is no reference to Saif Khan Nohani either after 1525. Bihar Khan Nohani, of course, remained unsubdued till his death(1528).

The remaining Nohani chiefs who submitted to Babur did so in the year 1529. These were Jalal Khan Nohani, son of Bihar Khan Nohani, Farid Khan Nohani, Alaul Khan Nohani and Yahya Nohani. While Jalal Khan Nohani and Farid Khan Nohani acknowledged Babur's authority in March 1529, Alaul Khan Nohani and Yahya Nohani submitted to him in May-June 1529, respectively.

A number of Nohani chiefs who submitted to Babur were also conferred revenue assignments by Babur. Four Nohani chiefs, namely Mahmud Khan Nohani, Jalal Khan

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1. <u>Baburnama</u>, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 582.

Nohani, Alaul Khan Nohani and Yahya Nohani were given revenue assignments by Babur. Mahmud Khan Nohani was first given a _pargana_ in Lahore,[1] but later on when he waited on Babur at Agra in 1526 he was given an assignment worth the value of 90 lacs 35 thousand _tankas_ from Ghazipur[2]. In the year 1529 A.D. he was further favoured by Babur through an assignments of 50 lacs _tankas_ from Bihar[3]. Another Nohani chief Jalal Khan Nohani, the son of Bihar Khan Nohani, was also highly favoured by Babur and given a huge revenue assignment from Bihar[4]. The total _jama_ of Bihar was 4 crore 5 lacs and 60 thousand _tankas_. Babur says that out of the total _jama_ of Bihar, he reserved 1 crore for _Khalisa_[5], assigned 50 lacs to Mahmud Khan Nohani and the remaining was conferred upon Jalal Khan Nohani. After totalling the amount reserved for _Khalisa_ and the amount alienated in favour of Mahmud Khan Nohani and deducting it from the total _jama_ of Bihar, which was 4 crore, 5 lacs 60 thousand we get the figure of 2 crore 55 lacs, 60 thousand _tankas_ which was assigned by Babur to Jalal Khan Nohani.

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1. _Baburnama_, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, pp. 455-56.
2. _Ibid._, p. 527
3. _Ibid._, p. 676
4. _Ibid._, p. 676
5. _Ibid._, p. 676

The other two Nohani chiefs who were favoured with assignments were Alaul Khan Nohani and Yahya Nohani. Both of them were conferred revenue assignments from Sarwar. Yahya Nohani was conferred an assignment worth the value of 15 lacs from Sarwar[1], but the value of assignment made to Alaul Khan Nohani is not mentioned by Babur[2]. However, both of them were given assignments in the year 1529.

The following table illustrates the details of the assignments conferred by Babur upon the Nohanis.

Table No.I

Sr. No.	Name of the assignee	Value of the assignments in *tankas*			The *pargana*/ territory assigned by Babur.
		Cr.	Lac	Th.	
1.	Jalal Khan Nohani s/o Bihar Khan Nohani	2	55	60	From Bihar (B.N. Bev.ii/676)
2.	Alaul Khan Nohani	The value of the assignment is not mentioned			From Sarwar(B.N. Persian/514a).
3.	Mahmud Khan Nohani	The value of assignments is not mentioned			a *pargana* in Lahore district, B.N.ii/455-56.
	-do-	-	90	35	from Ghazipur (B.N. Bev., ii/ 527)
	-do-	-	50	-	Bihar (B.N.Bev. ii/676)
4.	Yahya Nohani	-	15	-	from Sarwar (B.N./Persian 517A).
	Total	4	10	95	

1. *Baburnama*, B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 517a.
2. *Ibid.*, f. 514a.

Thus, we see that three out of the above mentioned four Nohanis chiefs were granted assignments of the total value of 4 crore 10 lacs and 95 thousand <u>tankas</u>, which was a considerable sum and constituted a sizeable amount out of the total <u>jama</u> of Hindustan which was 52 crore. In the above table the value of assignment made to Alaul Khan Nohani is not shown, as it is not specifically mentioned by Babur. Thus, in fact the value of the assignments made by Babur to the Nohanis was more than 4 crore, 10 lacs and 95 thousand <u>tankas</u>.

Lastly, it may be noted that the Nohanis were conferred assignments mainly in the eastern part of Babur's empire in Hindustan where they were dominant even during the Lodi period. However, the main beneficiaries of the assignments were the two individuals namely, Jalal Khan Nohani and Mahmud Khan Nohani, as they shared between themselves the assignments worth 3 crore 95 lac 295 thousand <u>tankas</u> out of the total of 4 crore, 10 lacs and ninty five thousand <u>tankas</u>.

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CHAPTER IV

FARMULIS

We now pass on to the Farmuli clan. The Farmu clan was a powerful clan. According to the author of *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, half of the kingdom of the Lodis was under their domination, while the remaining half was under the possession of other Afghan clans[1]. As such, at the time of Sultan Sikandar Lodi's death the Farmulis were in possession of large *iqtas*. Like the Nohanis, the Farmuli also held *iqtas* in various parts of the Lodi kingdom. But, whereas the Nohanis mainly dominated in Bihar, the stronghold of the Farmulis was in Oudh. During the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, the family of Kala Pahar of Oudh was very distinguished and it was the descendents and relations of Mian Kala Pahar who played a prominent role during the period under review. We, therefore, begin with an account of Mian Bayzid Farmuli of Oudh, who played a conspicuous role in the period under discussion.

SHAIKH BAYZID FARMULI

Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, also known as Mian Bayzid Farmuli, was the younger brother of Mustafa Farmuli, the nephew and son-in-law of Masnad-i Ali Mian Muhammad Kala Pahar who held Oudh and Bahraich

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1. *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part i, p. 170.

sarkars during the reign of Bahlol Lodi.[1] Mustafa Farmuli was appointed by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi against the rebel *amirs*, Nasir Khan Nohani, Daryan Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli[2]. After the death of Mustafa Farmuli, his younger brother, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli took over the command against the rebel *amirs*[3]. We first notice Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli in Babur's service in the year 1526. According to Babur, soon after his occupation of Agra, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli along with Firoz Khan Sarang Khani, Mahmud Khan Nohani and Qazi Jia came and waited upon him. Babur says that he showed kindness and favour towards Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and gave him an assignment of 1 crore 48 lacs and 50 thousand tankas from Oudh[4].

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1. *Tarikh-i Ser Sahi*, Eng. tr. Ambashthya, p. 250; *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part i, p. 161.

2. *Tarikh-i Ser Sahi*, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

3. *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 527.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 527. In Mrs. Beveridge's English translation the amount given to Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli is mentioned as 1 crore 48 lacs 50 thousand *tankas*, while according to B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 417a, an assignment of only one crore was given to him. The latter seems to be correct for the reason that Mrs. Beveridge's figure exceeds the total *jama* of Oudh as given by Babur (see B. N. Bev., ii p. 521). Therefore, Bayzid could not have been given 1 crore 48 lacs and 50 thousand from Oudh. According to the *Akbarnama*, (Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 253) assignment of only 1 crore was given to Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli; see also *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p. 32; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. i, p. 444; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p. 428; *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p. 439

Soon after his submission to Babur, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli along with other begs was appointed against Etawa[1]. But before this expedition reach Etawa, it was ordered to join Humayun in his expedition towards the east[2] against Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli. After defeating the eastern rebels, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli was appointed in Oudh by Humayun[3].

But in the following year it was reported to Babur that Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli had turned hostile. Therefore, in August 1527, Babur sent Sultan Quli Turk to confirm the news of Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli's revolt, giving him twenty day's time to report back[4].

In December 1527 marching towards Chanderi, when Babur came to know that the loyalty of Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli was doubtful he detached Muhammad Ali Jang Jang from the army, ordering him to take with him the amirs of the neighbourhood of Qanauj and move against the hostile

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 530; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 420a-b; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H, Bev., vol. i, p.256.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 531; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 421a-b; Akbarnama, op.cit., p. 256; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. i, p. 444; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 640.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 544; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 434; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 258; Waqiat-i Mushtaqi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 440.

4. Baburnama, op. cit. p. 585; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 462b.

Afghans. They were ordered to invite Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli for, as Babur writes, he was not certain about Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli's hostility. But Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli did not respond[1].

When Babur was at Chanderi, it was reported to him that Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli had completely revolted against him, and along with Mian Bibban Jilwani and Maruf Farmuli, had defeated the royal army under the command of Muhammad Ali Jang Jang[2]. The Afghans also took Rapri and Shamsabad. Babur, therefore, immediately left Chanderi and reached at Kanar passage. When the Afghans came to know about the arrival of Babur at Kanar passage, they crossed the Ganges and took position on its eastern bank opposite Qanauj. After a few skrimshes the Afghans fled away[3]. Babur appointed Chin Timur Sultan, along with other _begs_, against Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli[4]. A few days latter, Chin Timur Sultan sent a message to Babur demanding reinforcement. Babur sent one thousand braves under the command of Qaracha[5].

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1. _Baburnama_, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 589; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 464b.

2. _Ibid._, p. 594; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 467a; _Waqiat-i Mushtaqi_, Hindi tr. Rizvi, _Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur_, p. 441.

3. _Baburnama_, _op. cit._, pp. 598-601; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 470a to 472b.

4. _Ibid._, p. 601; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 472b.

5. _Ibid._, pp. 601-2; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 473a; _Tarikh-i Alfi_, Hindi tr. Rizvi, _Mughal Kalin Bharat Babur_, p. 645.

Chin Timur Sultan succeeded in driving Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli as far as Oudh.

On March 28, 1528 Chin Timur Sultan received a letter from Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, who was then encamped opposite Oudh. But Chin Timur Sultan did not pay much attention to it and ordered Qaracha to cross river Ghagra. When Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli came to know of the crossing of the Mughal army, he fled away. Those who first crossed the river were sent in pursuit of Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, but they could not succeed in getting hold of him. However, they succeeded in capturing some family members and relatives of Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli who were then sent to Babur.[1]

According to Tarikh-i Ser Sahi, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Mian Bibban Jilwani had invited Sultan Mahmud Lodi to Patna and put him on the throne of Bihar. At this moment, as even Sher Khan had a little following in Bihar he also joined the service of Sultan Mahmud[2]. While marching against Sultan Mahmud Lodi towards east, Babur came to know that Sultan Mahmud Lodi had despatched

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 602; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 473a-b; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 256.

2. Tarikh-i Ser Sahi, Eng. tr. Ambashthya, p. 207.

Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Mian Bibban Jilwani with a large army towards Sarwar (Gorakhpur).[1]

In May, 1529 when Babur was encamped near Kharid, he came to know that Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Mian Bibban Jilwani were planning to cross river Saru[2].

After concluding a peace treaty with Nusrat Shah of Bengal and with the Nohani Afghans of Bihar in May 1529, Babur marched against Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli. After crossing Saru river, when Babur reached Chaupara Chaturmukh of Sikandarapur, he came to know that Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli had crossed river Saru and fled towards Lucknow. So Babur sent an expedition to pursue him.[3]

A little later, Babur came to know from Shah Muhammad Diwana's son, who had been sent by Baqi from Oudh, that Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Mian Bibban Jilwani who had captured the fort of Lucknow had evacuated it on hearing of Babur's march and had fled towards Dalmau.[4] Hence, Babur appointed Muhammad Zaman Mirza and Sultan Junaid Barlas along with several Hindustani amirs, namely

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, pp. 651-52; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 521a; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 271.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 675; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 645.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 677; Tarikh-i Alfi, op. cit., p. 645.

4. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 681; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 514b.

Mahmud Khan Nohani, Taj Khan Sarang Khani and Qazi Jia, to block the enemy's route at Chunar[1]. Babur also sent another expedition consisting of the Turk and Hindustani amirs, namely Alam Khan Lodi of Kalpi, Malik-dad Karrani and Rao Sarwani towards Dalmau.[2]

On June 1529 when Babur was encamped opposite Adampur pargana, Jalal Tashkindi came from the expeditionary force and brought the news that on hearing of their expedition Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli fled away towards the pargana of Mahuba[3]. After this we do not hear any more about Mian Bayzid Farmuli during the reign of Babur.

MARUF FARMULI

Maruf Farmuli was the son of Mian Gadai Farmuli who was the muqta of Qanauj during Sultan Bahlol's reign.[4] He died in the early years of Sultan Sikandar's reign and was succeeded by his eldest son, Maruf Farmuli[5]. He was one of those Afghans who had rebelled against Sultan

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, pp. 681-82; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 514a; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 645.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 681-82; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 645.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 685; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 518a.

4. Waqiat-i Mushtaqi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, p. 147; see also I.H.Siddiqi, "The Composition of the Nobility under the Lodi Sultans", Medieval India: A Miscellany, vol. i, Aligarh, 1977, p. 35.

5. I.H. Siddiqi, "The Composition of the Nobility under the Lodi Sultan", Medieval India: A Miscellany, vol. i, (Aligarh 1977), p. 35.

Ibrahim Lodi. He along with Nasir Khan Nohani and some other rebellious Afghans had made Bihar Khan Nohani of Bihar as their Padshah under the title Sultan Muhammad[1]. Babur tells us that at the time of the battle of Panipat, Maruf Farmuli and Nasir Khan Nohani were in occupation of Qanauj and the whole country beyond it, i.e., towards the east[2]. After Babur's occupation of Agra, Maruf Farmuli and Nasir Khan Nohani crossed the Ganges near Qanauj and encamped three to four miles away from the Ganges towards Agra side[3].

Babur, therefore, appointed Humayun against Maruf Farmuli and Nasir Khan Nohani[4]. The contingents which had been sent to conquer Etawa and Dholpur under the command of Mahdi Khwaja and Muhammad Sultan Mirza, respectively, were also ordered to join Humayun in his

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 523; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 251; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking vol. i, p. 444; Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. i, p. 31; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 428.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 523; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 251, Tarikh-i Firishta, op. cit., p. 31.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 523; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 256; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 429; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 638.

4. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 531; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 256; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 430; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p.638.

march against Maruf Farmuli and Nasir Khan Nohani[1]. As such, the Afghan amirs, namely Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, Mahmud Khan Nohani and Firoz Khan Sarang Khani, who had recently submitted to Babur and were deployed in the Etawa expedition[2], were also ordered to march against Maruf Farmuli and Nasir Khan Nohani.

It may be noted that Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Firoz Khan Sarang Khani had earlier fought as commanders of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi against Maruf Farmuli and Nasir Khan Nohani[3]. Humayun left Agra on August 21, 1526[4]. When Humayun set out from Agra, Maruf Farmuli and Nasir Khan Nohani were encamped at Jajmau[5]. On learning of Humayun's expedition, Maruf Farmuli and Nasir Khan Nohani fled away from Jajmau which was then captured by Humayun[6]. Humayun pursued Afghans as far as Jaunpur and Kharid and then returned to Agra to wait upon Babur on January 6th, 1527[7].

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 531; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. i, p. 444; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 256.
2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 530; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 256; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 430.
3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 527.
4. Ibid., p. 531.
5. Ibid., p. 533.
6. Ibid., p. 524.
7. Ibid., p. 544.

For about a year we do not hear about the activities of Maruf Farmuli. But in December 1527, when it was reported to Babur that Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli had turned hostile[1], Maruf Farmuli had also joined Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli[2]. Thus in February-March, 1528 we notice Maruf Farmuli siding with Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayxid Farmuli against the Mughals. Hereafter, we do not come across any reference to Maruf Farmuli. Perhaps he continued to defy the Mughals along with Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli. However, he never submitted to Babur.

MUSA FARMULI

Musa Farmuli was a son of the above mentioned Maruf Farmuli[3] and a brother of Shah Mahammad Farmuli. It may be noted that Maruf Farmuli was one of those Afghans who were in rebellion against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and who never submitted even to Babur. We first notice Musa Farmuli in the year 1529. In this year he served Babur in the battle of Ghagra in one of the four divisions formed for action in the battle. He and Sultan Junaid Barlas constituted part of the same division[4].

1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 598.

2. Ibid.,

3. Ibid., p. 669; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 508a.

4. Ibid., p. 669; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 508a-b.

On June 20th, 1529 Musa Farmuli was granted by Babur a *pargana* of the value of 30 lacs from Amarhar (Amroha). He was also given a *khilat* and a *tipuchaq* and was given leave[1]. After that we do not come across any reference to him.

SHAH MUHAMMAD FARMULI

Shah Muhammad Farmuli was the brother of Musa Farmuli and son of Maruf Farmuli[2]. Though Maruf Farmuli never submitted to Babur, Shah Muhammad, like his brother Musa Farmuli, seems to have submitted to Babur sometime before 1528, as we know that in 1528 he was conferred Saran by Babur towards his *wajh-i alufa*. Babur writes that Shah Muhammad rendered him meritorious services and twice he fought against his father and overcome him[3].

However, in the following year when Sultan Mahmud Lodi captured Bihar and Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli stirred trouble in the east, Shah Muhammad found himself alone and had to join them. Even though he was obliged to join Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, he continued to profess his allegiance to Babur by secretly sending *arzdasts* to him.

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1. *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 685; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 518a-b.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 675; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 512a.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 675; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 512a.

Consequently, on the approach of the Mughals in the east and on Askari's crossing the Ganges at Haldi passage in 1529 Shah Muhammad came with his retainers (jamiat), joined Askari and attacked the Bengalis. A little afterwards he joined Babur[1].

Babur on his part conferred upon him Saran as waja-i alufa[2], as he had done it during the previous year. Babur says that he also conferred upon him Kandla for the maintenance of tarkashband[3]. Shah Muhammad was also honoured with a khilat and tipuchaq horse in May 1529[4].

ALI KHAN FARMULI

We notice Ali Khan Farmuli for the first time after the battle of Panipat. After his victory at Panipat, when Babur sent Yunus-i Ali along with Humayun and other begs to capture Agra, Yunas-i Ali got separated from Humayun. On the way he met Ali Khan Farmuli's son

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 675; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 512b.

2. In the Persian version the term is wajh-i alufa but the Turkish text uses only the word wajh, not wajh-i alufa, see B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 514a and the Turkish text, f. 377a.

3. Ibid., p. 679; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 514a. It appears that even Kandla was given to him in the previous year.

4. Ibid., p. 679, B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 514a.

and family; and after a little fighting he made the sons of Ali Khan Farmuli prisoner and brought them to Agra. Taking advantage of this, Babur sent back one of the captured sons of Ali Khan Farmuli, along with Mirza Mughal, the son of Daulat Qadam Turk, to Ali Khan Farmuli, with a letter of favour and kindness for him. Ali Khan Farmuli was then in Mewat. Ali Khan Farmuli accepted Babur's overlordship and came to Agra with Mirza Mughal and waited upon him. Babur conferred upon him an assignment of the value of 25 lacs.[1]

In the following year, Ali Khan Farmuli rendered military service to Babur in jaranghar in the battle of Kanwah against Rana Sanga[2]. After the victory at Kanwah, when Rana Sanga fled away from the battlefield, Babur sent Ali Khan Farmuli along with others to pursue him. But they could not succeed[3].

Soon after wards, Ali Khan Farmuli was sent by Babur along with other begs to recover Lucknur from Mian Bibban who had captured it before the battle of Kanwah[4]. Ali Khan Farmuli also served Babur in his

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, pp. 526-27; B. M. Or. 3714, f. 416b.

2. Ibid., p. 567; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 450a; Akbarnama Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 262; Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p. 37.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 576; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 455b & 456a; Akbarnama, op. cit., p.265.

4. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 582; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 460b-461a; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 267.

eastern expedition in 1529. On May 25th, 1529 Ali Khan Farmuli was also appointed by Babur, along with other begs, in pursuit of Mian Bibban and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, who had fled towards Lucknow[1].

ALI KHAN'S SONS

We also notice the sons of the above mentioned Ali Khan Farmuli active during the period under study. It is difficult to ascertain whether Ali Khan Farmuli and his sons fought with Ibrahim Lodi against Babur in the battle of Panipat or not. But, soon after the battle of Panipat we find them located somewhere between Delhi and Agra, probably in the region of Mewat. On April 20, 1526, after the battle of Panipat, Babur appointed Humayun along with Yunas Ali and some other nobles to rapidly march and occupy Agra[2]. Babur tells us that on the way between Delhi and Agra Yunas Ali lost his way and got separated from Humayun. During this period Yunus Ali met the sons and the kith and kin of Ali Khan Farmuli. After a little fighting Yunus Ali succeeded in capturing the sons of Ali Khan Farmuli and took them along with him to Agra. Taking advantage of the situation Babur sent one of the sons of Ali Khan back to Ali Khan Farmuli along with encouraging farmans for Ali Khan Farmuli.

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 678.
2. Ibid., p. 475.

Babur tells us that Ali Khan Farmuli was at that time in Mewat. In response to Babur's gesture of good will, Ali Khan Farmuli came and waited upon Babur in Agra some time before 11th July[1]. Although Ali Khan Farmuli was assigned by Babur *parganas* of the value of 25 lacs[2] and later on rendered military service to him, we do not come across any further reference to his sons after July 1526.

SHAIKH JAMAL FARMULI

Shaikh Jamal Farmuli is also noticed only once in our sources in the period under review. The only reference to him traceable in our sources is in the *Baburnama*. This reference is in the context of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi's struggle with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and his abortive attempt to overthrow Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the year 1525. According to this reference Shaikh Jamal Farmuli was with Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, when the later beseiged Delhi and marched to fight with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. But we are told that Shaikh Jamal Farmuli deserted Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi before the fighting started and went over to the side of Sultan

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1. *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, pp. 526-27.
2. *Ibid*., p. 527.

Ibrahim Lodi along with some other Afghan chiefs[1]. The other Afghan chiefs who defected to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at this movement were Mahmud Khan, son of Khan-i Jahan, and Saif Khan son of Darya Khan Nohani.

MIAN SULAIMAN FARMULI OF INDRI

Mian Sulaiman Farmuli, also mentioned as Sulaiman Shaikhzada, held the pargana of Indri near the west bank of Jumna, to the north of Karnal[2]. In the summer of 1525 when Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi marched from the side of the Panjab along with Dilawar Khan and Haji Khan Lodi, the sons of Daulat Khan Lodi, and Ismail Khan Jilwani towards Delhi to overthrow Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, on the way Sulaiman Shaikhzada Farmuli also waited upon Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi and saw him at Indri[3].

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 457. It may be noted that in Mrs. Beveridge's translation of the Baburnama, it is not mentioned whether Shaikh Jamal Farmuli after deserting Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi joined Sultan Ibrahim Lodi or not. It only says that Shaikh Jamal Farmuli deserted Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, but in the Turkish text of Baburnama, (Luzac & Co., London 1971, f. 257) as well as, in the Persian manuscript (B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 356b) it is clearly mentioned that Shaikh Jamal Farmuli after deserting Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi joined Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.

2. Ibid., pp. 456-57, Mrs. Beveridge identifies him as Farmuli Shaikhzada, see Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 457n.

3. Ibid., p. 456.

At this juncture, as we are told by Babur, the number of the following of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi swelled to 30 to 40 thousand.

After the defeat of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi when he fled back towards the north and reached near Indri, we are told that Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi took three to four lac (tankas?) from Mian Sulaiman Shaikhzada Farmuli[1]. After that we do not come across any reference to Mian Sulaiman Farmuli.

A RESUME

Out of the above mentioned Farmuli chiefs who were active during the period under review, three of them namely, Maruf Farmuli and his sons Musa Farmuli and Shah Muhammad belonged to one family. The said Maruf Farmuli seems to have been powerful Farmuli chief, for during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi he had defied the authority of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and, in alliance with the Nohanis, had rebelled against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. However, there is no reference in our sources to the role of his sons, Musa Farmuli and Shah Muhammad, during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. It is, therefore, difficult to say whether they were loyal to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi or supported their father in his rebellion against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 457.

The other prominent Farmuli chief, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, was, however, loyal to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli belonged to the influential family of the Farmulis which had ruled Oudh from the time of Sultan Bahlol Lodi. But Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli was at daggers drawn with Maruf Farmuli, as he had fought as a commander of Ibrahim Lodi against Maruf Farmuli.

As far as Ali Khan Farmuli and his sons are concerned nothing is known about their position and role during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. But the loyality of Shaikh Jamal Farmuli and Sulaiman Shaikhzada of Indri seems to have been wavering between Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi[1]. We are told that Shaikh Jamal Farmuli accompanied Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi in his morath to overthrow Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the year 1525. However, just before the battle at Hodal he deserted Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi and joined Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Sulaiman Shaikhzada, on the one hand, seems to have held the pargana of Indri, apparently on behalf of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, yet in the event of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi's march against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi he waited upon Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi and later on even financed him. In short, what is significant to note is the fact that like other

1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, pp. 456-57.

Afghan clans the Farmulis were also divided among themselves and owed allegiance to various Afghan chiefs contending for power against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.

We now pass on to Babur's relations with the Farmuli Afghan chiefs. Babur first came in contact with the Farmulis when Ali Khan Farmuli's sons were captured by Yunus-i Ali on his way to Agra after the battle of Panipat, subsequently resulting in the submission of Ali Khan Farmuli who came and waited upon Babur in Agra soon after the occupation of Agra, as described earlier. Ali Khan Farmuli remained loyal to Babur constantly and rendered military service on various occasions as we shall illustrate below. The next Farmuli chief to submit to Babur was Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, who waited upon Babur in Agra along with several other Afghan chiefs, namely Firoz Khan Sarang Khani, Mahmud Khan Nohani and Qazi Jia in the middle of the year 1526. Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, however, rebelled against Babur about a year later and continued to defy the authority of the Mughals along with Mian Bibban Jilwani and Maruf Farmuli throughout Babur's reign and even under Humayun.

Among other leading Farmuli chiefs, Maruf Farmuli never submitted to Babur and put up a joint front against the Mughals along with Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli with whom he was at war during Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's

reign. But the sons of Maruf Farmuli, namely Shah Muhammad and Musa Farmuli, submitted to Babur and the former even fought for Babur against his father.

Regarding Shaikh Jamali Farmuli and Sulaiman Shaikhzada Farmuli nothing is known vis-a-vis their relations with Babur. However, the Farmuli Shaikhzadas of Bihar seem to have submitted to Babur, for he tells us that they sent him arzhdashts expressing their alligance to him in the month of April, 1529.

Thus, we notice that the role of the Farmulis under Babur was not much different from their role under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. They were divided as far as their allegiance even to Babur was concerned. But what is significant is that Babur's occupation of Hindustan brought about the change in the coalitions of the Farmuli Afghans. For example, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Maruf Farmuli who, during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi were fighting against each other, were now fighting together against Babur. As in the case of many other Afghan families, among the Farmulis, too, the sons and father were petted against each other in Babur's conflict with the Farmulis, as is evident in the case of the role of Maruf Farmuli and his sons.

Those of the Farmuli chiefs who submitted to Babur were bestowed revenue assignments by Babur, as is illustrated by the following table.

Table No.I

Name of the Chief	Value of assignment in tankas				Name of the pargana/ territory against whic the assignment was made
	Cr.	Lac.	Th.	Hund.	
Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli	1	48	50	-	Oudh (B.N.ii/527)
Ali Khan Farmuli	-	25	-	-	Name of the pargana not mentioned (B.N.ii/527)
Musa Farmuli	-	30	-	-	pargana from Amarhar (Amroha?) B.N.ii/685
Shah Muhammad Farmuli	1	10	18	373	Saran(Persian text, B.M. MS. 3714, f, 514a; Turkish text, f. 377a)
-do-	-	43	30	300	Kandla (B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 514a).
Total	3	56	98	673	

It may, however, be noted that after the revolt of Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli against Babur, he was deprived off his revenue assignment, for we know that after the explusion of Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli from Oudh, Baqi Beg was entrusted with the charge of Oudh. Therefore, even if we deduct the value of assignment made by Babur to Bayzid Farmuli the total value of assignment made by him to Farmulis, as it stood in 1529, would come to 3 crore, 98 thousand and 673 hundred tankas.

The Farmulis also rendered valuable military services to Babur. Even Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli before his revolt in 1527 was commissioned by Babur in the expedition against Qutub Khan of Etawa and then against Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli under the command of Humayun in the year 1526. The following table gives an account of the military services rendered by the Farmulis to Babur.

Table No.II

Name	Particulars of the expedition	References
Ali Khan Farmuli	In the battle of Kanwah, twice against Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid.	B.N.Bev.,ii/567, 582 678
Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli	In the Etawa expedition against Qutub Khan and later on under the command of Humayun against Maruf Farmuli and Nasir Khan Nohani	B.N.Bev.,ii/530, 531
Musa Farmuli s/o Maruf Farmuli	In one of the divisions in the battle of Ghagra.	B.N.Bev.,ii/669.
Shah Muhammad s/o Maruf Farmuli	Twice against his father and also in the battle of Ghagra under Askari.	B.N.Bev.,ii/675

We notice from the above table that Ali Khan Farmuli constantly rendered military services to Babur even since his submission in the year 1526 till 1529 and never wavered in his allegiance to Babur. About Shah Muhammad, the son of Maruf Farmuli, as Babur says, he twice fought for Babur even against his father[1]. Although under the pressure of Sultan Mahmud Lodi and Mian Bibban and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli he on one occasion had apparently joined the service of the above said Afghans, yet he had been writing to Babur secretly expressing his loyality to him. Two of the Farmuli chiefs, namely Shah Muhammad and Musa Farmuli, the sons of Maruf Farmuli, were even favoured by Babur with the grant of gifts. Shah Muhammad was honoured with a khilat and tipuchag horse[2] in May 1529 and Musa Farmuli was honoured with special head to foot, and saddledhorse[3] in June 1529. In short, Babur succeeded in preventing an organized front of the Farmulis; and, on the other hand, successfully utilized their military services in the consolidation of his power in Hindustan.

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 675; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 512b.

2. Ibid., p. 679; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 514a.

3. Ibid., p. 685, B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 518a-b.

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CHAPTER V

JILWANIS

Jilwanis are not mentioned in our sources as a separate Afghan clan in the sense the Lodi, the Nohani, the Farmuli and the Sarwani are referred to. It is, therefore, difficult to ascertain whether Jilwani was a clan name, family name or a title. But a few chiefs designated as Jilwani, apparently not related to each other, are noticeable playing a prominent role in the politics of the period. We have, therefore, grouped them together in this chapter. The most prominent of them was Mian Bibban Jilwani whose account is given below.

MIAN BIBBAN JILWANI

Mian Bibban Jilwani was the son of Mian Ata Sahu Khail[1]. He was the hakim of Sirhind during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi[2]. It seems that he too was unhappy with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. He accompanied Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi during his abortive attempt in 1525 to overthrow Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. But when Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi sustained defeat at the hands of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, Mian Bibban Jilwani also fled away towards the Mian-i Doab. While passing through the Mian-i Doab Mian Bibban Jilwani along with other amirs deserted Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi.[3]

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1. Tarikh-i Ser Sahi, Eng. tr. Ambashthya (Patna 1974), pp. 206-07.

2. Ibid.,

3. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 457.

In February 1526, when Babur was encamped at Jasdun(Jaswan) he received an arzdasht from Mian Bibban Jilwani in which he expressed his allegiance to him. In reply Babur sent him an encouraging farman[1].

On February 25th, 1526 when Babur was encamped near Ambala, Mian Bibban Jilwani came and waited upon him[2]. Soon after waiting upon Babur, Mian Bibban Jilwani had an unpalatable experience at Babur's court. Babur narrates it as following, "These Afghans remain very rustic and tactless. This person asked to sit although Dilawar Khan, his superior in following and in rank did not sit, and although the sons of Alam Khan, who are of royal birth, did not sit. Little ear was lent to his unreason".[3] The Afghans who loved egalatarianism and had been fighting against the autocratic notion of sovereignty of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi were not aware of the autocratic notions of sovereignty of the Mughals and their court etiguettes. Mian Bibban Jilwani, therefore, could not reconcile himself to the idea of standing

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 464.

2. Ibid., p. 466; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 241; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 422; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. i, p. 439; Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. i, pp. 27-28.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 466.

in the court of Babur. He, therefore, was looking for an opportunity to leave Babur's camp, and he got this opportunity after about a month. On April 1, 1526 when the military contingent appointed by Babur against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's generals, Hatim Khan and Daud Khan, was crossing the Jumna into the Mian-Doab, Mian Bibban Jilwani on the pretext of crossing the river fled away.[1]

Having fled from Babur's camp, Mian Bibban Jilwani went and laid seige to Sambhal. Sambhal was then held by Qasim Sambhali[2]. After Babur had occupied Agra, he tells us that twice or thrice he received letters from Qasim Sambhali, requesting him for help against Mian Bibban Jilwani[3]. Babur sent Hindu Beg along with several other begs, namely Kitta Beg, Mulla Apaq, Malik Qasim and Shaikh Ghuran to help Qasim Sambhali against Mian Bibban Jilwani. As the expeditionary forces reached Sambhal Mian Bibban Jilwani could not make a stand and fled away.[4]

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, pp. 467-68.

2. Ibid., p. 528; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 254; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 428.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 528.

4. Ibid., pp. 528-29; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 254; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 429.

We next hear of Mian Bibban Jilwani towards the end of the year 1526 and the beginning of 1527. When Rana Sanga marched against Babur and every Hindustani and Afghan took possession of his parganas and districts, at this juncture Mian Bibban Jilwani also beseiged Lucknur(Lucknow?)[1]. Babur sent an expedition under the command of Qasim Husain Sultan (whom Badaùn was given) along with several other begs including Hindustani amirs, namely, Ali Khan Farmuli, Malik Dad Karrani, Shaikh Muhammad of Shaikh Bhakhari(?) and Tatar Khan, Khan-i Jahan. When the expeditionary forces crossed river Ganges, Mian Bibban Jilwani fled away abandoning his baggage[2].

For about one year, we do not hear about the activities of Mian Bibban Jilwani. Next time when we come across a reference to him we notice that he was active with Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Maruf Farmuli. In December, 1527 when Babur was on his way towards Chanderi, it was reported to him that Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli had turned hostile[3]. Babur, therefore, despatched an expedition against Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli. Under the command of Muhammad Ali Jang Jang[4].

1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 582; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 642; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 267.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., pp. 582-83.

3. Ibid., p. 589.

4. Ibid.

Later on, when Babur was beseiging Chanderi in January 1528, it was reported to him that the Mughal expeditionary forces were defeated by the Afghans and forced to retreat to Qanauj[1]. On way back from Chanderi, when Babur was encamped at Kanar passage in February 22nd, 1528, it was confirmed that the royal forces had been beaten by the Afghans and they were forced to retire to Rapri and the Afghans had captured Qanauj and Shamsabad. Babur, therefore, rapidly marched towards Qanauj. On hearing of Babur's approach, Mian Bibban Jilwani, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Maruf Farmuli fled back[2]. They were pursued by Babur as far as Oudh and were driven across river Sharda[3].

For about a year we do not know about the activities of Mian Bibban Jilwani. On February 22nd, 1529, when Sultan Mahmud Lodi, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, took possession of Bihar from Jalal Khan Nohani, Mian Bibban Jilwani along with Shaikh Bayzid also joined him. According to the author of the Tarikh-i Ser Sahi, it was Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli who had invited Sultan Mahmud Lodi and raised him to the throne

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 594; Akbarnama Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol. i, p. 268.

2. Ibid., p. 598; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 268.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., pp. 601-02.

of Bihar in Patna[1]. Later on, Sultan Mahmud Lodi despatched a military expedition towards Sarwar (Gorakhpur) under the command of Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, while he himself marched along with Fath Khan Sarwani towards Chunar.[2]

In May 1529, when Babur was encamped near Kharid, he was informed that Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli were planning to cross river Saru[3]. Hence, after concluding the peace with the Nohani Afghans of Bihar, Babur marched against Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli in May, 1529. On May 25th, 1529, when Babur was encamped in Chaupara Chaturmuk of Sikandarpur, he came to know that Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli having crossed the river Saru had fled towards Lucknow[4]. Babur despatche an expedition against them with the orders to block their crossing Saru river. In this expedition apart from his own <u>begs</u>, several Hindustani <u>amirs</u> like Ali Khan Farmuli and Nizam Khan of Biana were also appointed.

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1. <u>Tarikh-i Ser Sahi</u>, Eng. tr. Ambashthya, (Patna 1974) p. 207.

2. <u>Baburnama</u>, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, pp. 651-52; <u>Akbarnama</u>, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 271.

3. <u>Baburnama</u>, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 675; <u>Tarikh-i Alfi</u>, Hindi tr Rizvi, <u>Mughal Kalin Bharat</u>, <u>Babur</u>, p. 645.

4. <u>Baburnama</u>, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 677; <u>Tarikh-i Alfi</u>, Hindi tr Rizvi, <u>Mughal Kalin Bharat</u>, <u>Babur</u>, p. 645.

On May 30th, 1529 when Babur was encamped in village Kilirah(?) on the bank of Saru river, he came to know from Shah Muhammad Diwana's son who had been sent by Baqi from Oudh that the fort of Lucknow had been captured by the Afghans. Later on, when they came to know about the march of Babur, they evacuted the fort and fled away towards Dalmau.[1]

At that moment Babur sent an expedition against them under the command of Muhammad Zaman Mirza along with several other Hindustani amirs, namely Mahmud Khan Nohani Qazi Jia and Taj Khan Sarang Khani to block their way at Chunar[2].

On June 2nd, 1529, when Babur reached Parsaru (Sarju) he sent another expedition in pursuit of Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli towards Dalmau along with Hindustani amirs, namely Alam Khan Lodi of Kalpi, Malik Dad Karrani and Rao Sarwani.[3]

On June 16th, 1529, when Babur was encamped opposite Adampur pargana, he received the news that Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli after a little fighting in which they had lost several lives, including that of Mubarak Khan Jilwani, had fled away towards the

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 681.

2. Ibid., pp. 681-82; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 645.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 682.

pargana of Mahuba.[1]

ISMAIL KHAN JILWANI

Ismail Khan Jilwani was one of the supporters of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, as he fought with him against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi towards the end of 1525[2]. But with the defeat of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi at the hands of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, when Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan fled away towards the Mian-i-Doab, Ismail Khan Jilwani along with other Afghan amirs, namely Mian Bibban Jilwani and Jalal Khan, the eldest son of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi, deserted him in the Mian-i-Doab[3].

Later on, as we are told by Babur, when he was encamped at Jasdun, he received twice or thrice letters from Ismail Jilwani and Mian Bibban Jilwani. Babur sent them farmans[4] of favour and kindness. Although Mian Bibban Jilwani joined Babur's service soon afterwards (in February, 1526), there is no reference to Ismail Khan Jilwani in Babur's memoirs or any other source for nearly next three years.

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 685; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 645.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 456; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 355b; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 418; Tarikh-i Daudi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 445.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 457; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 355b; Tarikh-i Daudi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 445.

4. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 464; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 362a.

We next hear of Ismail Khan Jilwani only in May 1529. After concluding peace with the Nohani Afghans of Bihar and Nusrat Shah of Bengal, when Babur was encamped near Nirhun *pargana* of Kharid on the north side of Saru river, Ismail Khan Jilwani came and waited upon Babur along with Alaul Khan Nohani, Auliya Ashraqi and five to six other Afghans on May 21st, 1529.[1]

On May 29th, 1529, Ismail Khan Jilwani was conferred 72 lacs as *wajh* from Sarwar and was granted a *khilat-i khasa* and a *tipuchaq*[2]. He was then given leave to go to his *watan*. While giving leave it was settled that each of the Afghans would leave one of his sons or a younger brother for service permanently at Agra[3]. Thereupon, Ismail Khan Jilwani and Alaul Khan Nohani left Babur with the promise that they would come to Agra after visiting their *watan*[4]. Hereafter no further reference is traceable to Ismail Jilwani.

MUBARAK KHAN JILWANI

There is only one reference to Mubarak Khan in our sources during the period under review. From this solitary reference we notice him supporting Mian Bibban

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1. *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 677; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 515a.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 679; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 514a; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat*, *Babur*, p. 645.

3. *Baburnama*, B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 514a; This reference is missing in the Turkish text, Mrs. Beveridge has added it in her translation from some other manuscript see *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 680.

4. [illegible]

Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli in their struggle against the Mughals. In 1529, when Sultan Mahmud Lodi, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, captured Bihar and sent Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli towards Saru, Mubarak Khan Jilwani was also with them. It was reported to Babur in June 1529 that his expeditionary forces under the command of Baqi Beg had come to grips with the scouting party of Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and had killed Mubarak Khan Jilwani who is reported by Babur as one of the leading commanders of Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli[1].

A RESUME

In the preceding account, we have given the biographies of three Jilwani chiefs we come across during the period under discussion. But, very little is known about the position and role of these Jilwani chiefs in the politics of the period of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. It seems that Mian Bibban Jilwani held an esteemed position under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, as he was the hakim of Sirhind during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi[2]. But, like many other Afghan chiefs, it seems that Mian Bibban Jilwani was also disgruntled with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. As such, he fought

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 685.

2. Tarikh-i Ser Sahi, Eng. tr. Ambashthya, (Patna, 1974), pp. 206-207.

for Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the latter's attempt to overthrow Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. But, with the defeat of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi at the hands of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi near Hodal, Mian Bibban Jilwani deserted Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi along with several other Afghan chiefs[1]. The other Jilwani chief, Ismail Jilwani, whose biography is given above, also seems to have been unhappy with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, as we notice him, too, supporting Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi in his bid to overthrow Sultan Ibrahim Lodi towards the end of the year 1525. We do not even find Ismail Jilwani holding any assignment under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Although Ismail Jilwani fought for Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, yet in the event of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi's defeat and flight he, too, deserted Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi[2]. The remaining Jilwani chief, namely Mubarak Khan Jilwani, whose account we have given above, is not traceable under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. He, however, seems to have been a noteable person, as pointed out by Babur[3].

Passing on to Babur's relations with the Jilwani chiefs, it may be pointed out that only two of them, namely Mian Bibban Jilwani and Ismail Jilwani, submitted

1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 457.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 685.

to him, though the former deserted him even before the battle of Panipat. As mentioned above, Mian Bibban Jilwani supported Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and subsequently deserted the former. It was after he had separated from Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi that he entered into correspondence with Babur, who was then in the Panjab[1], and ultimately waited upon him on February 25th 1526 near Ambala[2]. Obviously, Mian Bibban Jilwani had no choice but to wait upon Babur. He had already annoyed Sultan Ibrahim Lodi by siding with Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. After Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi's defeat at the hands of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, there was no use in roaming as a fugitive with Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi. But his sojourn with Babur was short lived. He remained in attendance upon ~~Babur~~ his for about a month, only to escape from ~~Babur's~~ his camp on April 1st, 1526[3] and to defy his authority till Babur's death.

It is interesting to note that for about a year and a half from the time of his escape from Babur's camp, Mian Bibban Jilwani did not join hands with any other Afghan chief and continued to act individually to

1. <u>Baburnama</u>, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 464.

2. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 466.

3. <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 467-68.

carve out a position for himself from amongst the remnants of the Lodi empire. First we notice him trying to capture Sambhal from Qasim Sambhali[1] and then beseiging Lucknur before the battle of Kanwah[2]. On both these occasions, when the Mughal forces were sent against him he avoided pitched battles with Mughals and fled away. But when he failed to carve out a position for himself individually he allied himself with Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Mian Maruf Farmuli. In 1528 he fought against the Mughals in alliance with Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Maruf Farmuli and achieved considerable success against the Mughals[3]. In the year 1529, the scope of the alliance of Mian Bibban with other Afghans was further widened. In this year, when Sultan Mahmud Lodi occupied Bihar, Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli joined hands with him. Although Babur succeeded in driving back Sultan Mahmud Lodi, yet Mian Bibban Jilwani in alliance with Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli continued to defy Babur's authority and never submitted to him.

Of the other, Mubarak Khan Jilwani also never submitted to Babur. He died fighting for Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli against the Mughals in 1529[4].

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1. <u>Baburnama</u>, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 528.
2. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 582.
3. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 598.
4. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 685.

The only Jilwani chief who submitted to Babur and received from him a revenue assignment was Ismail Jilwani. Although he had sent an _arzhdasht_, to Babur expressing his allegiance to him before the battle of Panipat, yet, he did not wait upon Babur till May, 1529. He was then highly favoured by Babur, who conferred upon him 72 lacs as _wajh_ from Sarwar and honoured him with the grant of a _khilat-i khasa_ and a _tipuchaq_ horse[1]. However, we do not notice any Jilwani chief rendering military service to Babur. In short, Jilwanis hardly contributed to the expansion or consolidation of Babur's authority in Hindustan. On the other hand, Mian Bibban Jilwani was a constant threat to Babur along with the Farmuli chief, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli.

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1. _Baburnama_, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 679; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 514a; _Tarikh-i Alfi_, Hindi tr. Rizvi, _Mughal Kalin Bharat_, _Babur_, p. 645.

CHAPTER VI

SARWANIS, SURS AND KARRANIS

In the present chapter we have discussed the Sarwani, the Sur and the Karrani chiefs. Since our information about them is very meagre, we have grouped them together. Of the above mentioned clans, it was however, only the Sarwanis who are mentioned among the notable Afghan clans of the Lodi period listed in the Waqiat-i Mushtaqi. The Surs do not figure prominently under the Lodi Sultans, nor the Karranis. We, therefore, begin with the account of the Sarwani chiefs.

SARWANIS

FATH KHAN SARWANI

Fath Khan Sarwani was the son of Azam Humayun Sarwani[1], the muqta of Kara Manikpur during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Sometime after the execution of his father, Azam Humayun, he was restored by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi to the wilayat of his father, i.e. Kara Manikpur. As such, at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra, Fath Khan Sarwani was in Kara Manikpur.

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 537.

2. Waqiat-i Mustaqi, Hindi tr., Rizvi, Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, vol. i, p. 165.

Fath Khan Sarwani submitted to Babur early in his reign. Leaving Agra on August 21st, 1526 against the eastern Afghans when Humayun reached near Dalmau, which lay near Kara Manikpur, Fath Khan Sarwani came and waited upon Humayun[1]. Humayun detached Mahdi Khwaja and Muhammad Sultan Mirza from his command to escort Fath Khan Sarwani to Babur at Agra[2].

On his arrival at Agra, Fath Khan Sarwani was highly favoured by Babur and he tells us that not only the parganas of his father, Azam Humayun, were conferred upon him, but that he was favoured with additional territories (wilayat). He was conferred parganas worth one crore 60 lacs[3]. Babur further honoured him with the title of Khan-i Jahan[4].

On November 30th, 1526 when Babur arranged a party, Fath Khan Sarwani was invited and offered wine. On this occasion Babur bestowed upon him a dastar and a sar-u-pa which the emperor himself was then wearing[5].

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 534; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 423b; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol.i, p. 256; Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p. 33; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 639.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 257.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 537; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 425b.

4. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 537; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 425b.

5. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 537; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 425b- 426a.

After the party, Fath Khan Sarwani was given leave to go to his <u>wilayat</u>. At the time of giving leave to Fath Khan Sarwani Babur retained his son Mahmud in personal attendance.[1]

However, in the year 1529, when Sultan Mahmud Lodi, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, captured Bihar and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Mian Bibban Jilwani also joined him, Fath Khan Sarwani seems to have rebelled against Babur and joined Sultan Mahmud Lodi in the latter's march towards Chunar.[2] Hereafter, we do not hear of Fath Khan Sarwani.

MAHMUD SARWANI

Mahmud Sarwani was the son of the above mentioned Fath Khan Sarwani[3]. We hear of Mahmud Sarwani only once during Babur's reign. He seems to have submitted to Babur along with his father, for he was present at Babur's court in November, 1526[4].

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1. <u>Baburnama</u>, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 537; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 426a.

2. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 652; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 519b.

3. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 537; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 425b.

4. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 537; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 425b.

RAO SARWANI

Rao Sarwani was one of the high nobles of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi[1]. He had his residence at Sikandra[2]. We first notice Rao Sarwani (var. Daud Sarwani) in Babur's service towards the end of the year 1526, when he along with other nobles was appointed against Nizam Khan of Biana[3].

On September 5th, 1527 when Babur was at Sikandra, while on his way towards Sambhal and Kol, he visited the house of Rao Sarwani at Sikandra where the latter served food to Babur[4].

Rao Sarwani also accompanied Babur in his expedition towards the east in the year 1529. In June 1529, Rao Sarwani along with several other begs was appointed for a rapid pursuit of Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli towards Dalmau[5].

QUTAB KHAN SARWANI

When Babur occupied Agra on May 11th, 1526 at that time Etawa was in possession of Qutab Khan Sarwani,

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1. See I. H. Siddiqi, "The Composition of the Nobility under the Lodi Sultan", Medieval India: A Miscellany vol. iv (Aligarh, 1977), p. 60.

2. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, pp. 587-88; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 463b.

3. Ibid., p. 538; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 426a.

4. Ibid., pp. 587-88; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 463b.

5. Ibid., p. 682; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 516a.

who did not recognize the surzerainty of Babur[1]. As Babur tells us, he had sent an encouraging farman to Qutab Khan Sarwani, but the latter did not come to him, nor did he surrender the fort of Etawa to Babur[2]. In order to deal with him in such a situation, Babur bestowed Etawa upon Mahdi Khwaja and sent him along with several other amirs, namely, Firoz Khan Sarang Khani, Mahmud Khan Nohani, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Qazi Jia against Qutab Khan Sarwani of Etawa[3]. Later on, this expedition was recalled and ordered to join Humayun in his eastern expedition[4]. As a result, the subjugation of Qutab Khan Sarwani and the capture of Etawa was postponed for the time being.

When Babur was busy against Rana Sanga, as we are told by Babur, most of the Hindustanis and Afghans turned against him[5]. Qutab Khan Sarwani's men also took advantage of the circumstances and captured Chandwar[6].

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 523; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. i, p. 443; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 251; Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p. 31; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 427; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 638.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 530.

3. Ibid.,

4. Ibid., p. 531.

5. Ibid., p. 582.

6. Ibid. p. 557; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 642.

In order to deal with Qutab Khan Sarwani, Babur despatched an expedition against him (after the battle of Kanwah) under the command of Mahammad Ali Jang Jang along with several other _begs_. When the expeditionary forces reached near Chandwar, Qutab Khan Sarwani's men could not make a stand and fled away from Chandwar. The expeditionary forces captured Chandwar and then marched towards Rapri. When Qutab Khan Sarwani came to know about the march of the Mughal forces, he abandoned Etawa and fled away[1]. Qutab Khan Sarwani after his evacuation of Etawa seems to have sought shelter in the Mian-i-Doab or near Sambhal. In September 1527, he stirred trouble near Sambhal in alliance with a number of _rajas_. Qutab Khan Sarwani and the party of the _rajas_ were defeated by Darwish-i ali and Yunus-i ali who were in charge of Sambhal on behalf of Humayun. Although a number of men of Qutab Khan Sarwani were killed[2], Qutab Khan is never heard of again.

SURS

We now pass on to the Sur clan. As pointed above, the Surs had not acquired prominence during the period under study. However, since Sher Khan Sur was later on able to establish his rule in Hindustan, the

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1. _Baburnama_, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 582; _Tarikh-i Alfi_, Hindi tr. Rizvi, _Mughal Kalin Bharat_, _Babur_, p. 642.

2. _Baburnama_, _op. cit._, p. 587.

Surs must have been a potential power. But surprisingly, we come across only two chiefs belonging to the Sur clan, namely Sher Khan Sur and Alaul Khan Sur, during the period under review, as can be perused below.

SHER KHAN SUR

Sher Khan Sur was the son of Mian Hasan Sur. Sher Khan's grand father came to Hindustan during the reign of Sultan Bahlol Lodi[1]. During the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi Sher Khan (then Farid) held the pargana of Sahsram which was given to his father Mian Hasan[2]. When Bihar Khan declared himself independent of Ibrahim Lodi, Sher Khan entered the former's service. Bihar Khan was highly pleased with Sher Khan and made him his deputy, which office he continued to hold even after the death of Bihar Khan[3]. According to the author of Tarikh-i Ser Sahi, Sher Khan waited upon Babur at Agra along with Junaid Barlas and was granted audience in the court. According to the above mentioned source, Sher Khan Sur also accompanied Babur in his expedition to Chanderi[4]. Later on, as we are told by Abbas Khan that he fled away from the court[5]. But it seems that Sher Khan re-joined

1. Tarikh-i Ser Sahi, Eng. tr. Ambashthya (Patna, 1974), p. 103.

2. Ibid., pp. 103-104.

3. Ibid., pp. 96, 108.

4. Ibid., p. 103.

5. Ibid., pp. 105-106.

Babur's service before 1528, for in that year, as we are told by Babur, Babur had conferred several parganas upon him[1]. Later on, it was reported to Babur that Sher Khan Sur had joined Sultan Mahmud Lodi, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, and revolted along with the latter against Babur[2]. But it seems that Sher Khan abstained from joining Sultan Mahmud, for on March 31st, 1529, when Babur was encamped near Ghazipur he received an arzadasht from Sher Khan Sur expressing his allegiance to Babur[3]. After that we no more hear of Sher Khan Until the reign of Humayun.

ALAUL KHAN SUR

The only other Afghan belonging to the Sur clan we notice during the period under review was Alaul Khan Sur. There is only one reference to Alaul Khan Sur. From the reference to Alaul Khan Sur, it appears that he too, belonged to the eastern region. During the course of Babur's expedition towards the east in the year 1529, when Babur was encamped near Ghazipur in the month of March 1529 and when a number of other Afghan chiefs belonging to the eastern region submitted to Babur, Alaul Khan Sur also sent an arzdasht to Babur, perhaps expressing his allegiance to him[4]. There is no other reference to Alaul Khan Sur in our sources.

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 652.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 659; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 524b.
4. Ibid.,

KARRANIS

The Karranis, too, do not seem to have occupied any worthwhile position during the period under review. We have been able to come across only one chief designated as Karrani among the amirs of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Since the chief under reference played an important role during the period under discussion, we have included him in our account.

MALIK DAD KARRANI

Malik Dad Karrani was an amir of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. At the time of Babur's occupation of Agra he was in the fort of Agra along with Milli Surduk and Firoz Khan Mewati, all three of whom are mentioned by Babur as wise men(dana) of the soldiery then in the fort of Agra. Babur first ordered for the execution of Malik Dad Karrani and the two others mentioned above, but after about four or five days, they were pardoned and assigned parganas[1]. Malik Dad Karrani thus entered Babur's service and rendered military service to him on several occasions.

In November, 1526, when Babur sent an expedition against Hamid Khan Sarang Khani, who had mobilized 3 to 4 thousand Afghans in the neighbourhood of Hisar Firoza and stirred trouble, Babur sent Malik Dad Karrani as

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 477-78; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 370b. Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat Babur, p. 636.

part of the expedition, the other commanders being Chin Timur Sultan, Ahmadi *parwanchi*, Abul Fath Turkman and Mujahid Khan Multani[1].

Malik Dad Karrani also served Babur in the battle of Kanwah against Rana Sanga in 1527. He served in the *barangar* and his name is listed in the *Fathnama* of Shaikh Zain among the *amirs* of Hindustan who served in the *barangar*, the other Hindustani amirs being Khan-i Khana Dilawar Khan and Shaikh Ghuran and he is styled there by Shaikh Zain as *Umdat-ul Ayan*.[2]

After the battle of Kanwah, Malik Dad Karrani was sent along with several other central Asian and Hindustani *amirs*, namely Asian Timur Sultan, Mahmud Sultan Mirza, Ali Khan Farmuli, Shaikh Muhammad of Shaikh Bhakhari and Tatar Khan Khan-i Jahan in a military expedition against Mian Bibban Jilwani, who had beseiged Lucknur before the battle of Kanwah.[3]

On June 2nd, 1529, after consulting his *begs* and *amirs* when Babur detached a military expedition from the bank of Parsaru (Sarju) river against Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli towards Dalmau, Malik

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1. *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 540; B. M. MS Or. 3714, f. 428a-b.

2. *Baburnama*, *op. cit.*, p. 567; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 449b; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 26

3. *Baburnama*, *op. cit.*, p. 582; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 516a.

Dad Karrani was also associated with this expedition[1].

A RESUME

We have noticed above that a total of seven Afghan chiefs belonging to the Sarwani, the Sur and the Karrani clans made their presence felt during the period of our study. Four of them were Sarwani, two Surs and one Karrani. Out of them the Sarwanis occupied a pre-dominant position under the Lodis. The Sarwani chief, Fath Khan Sarwani, was a chief of high stature under the Lodis. He had even defied Sultan Ibrahim alon with his father Azam Humayun Sarwani[2]. However, after the execution of his father, Azam Humayun, there was reconciliation between Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and Fath Khan Sarwani[3]. As far as Rao Sarwani and Qutab Khan are concerned, no evidence is available in our sources regarding their relationship with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.

Of the Sur Afghans, Sher Khan and Alaul Khan, none of them figured in the politics of the period of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. What we know about Sher Khan Sur in the period of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi is in the context

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 682; B. M. M Or. 3714, f. 516a-b.

2. Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. i, p. 345 Tarikh-i Shahi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, part-i, p. 341.

3. Waqiat-i Mushtaqi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, part i, p. 165; Tarikh-i Shahi Hindi tr. Rizvi, Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, part i, p. 34

of the management of his father Hasan Khan's *jagir* of Sahasram where he (then Farid) came in conflict with his step mother and step brother.[1] The other Sur chief, namely Alaul Khan Sur, is not even mentioned during the period of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. However, about the Karran: chief, Malik Dad, on the authority of the *Baburnama*, we ca say with certainty that he was an *amir* of Sultan Ibrahim and was stationed in the fort of Agra at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra[2].

Some of the above mentioned chiefs were in possession of *iqtas* during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Fath Khan Sarwani held the *iqta* of Kara Manikpur wh was restored to him by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi after he was released from the prison[3], while Qutab Khan Sarwani held Etawa[4]. We do not know of the *iqta* of Rao Sarwani but he had his residence at Sikandara near Agra.[5] As far as the Surs are concerned, there is no reference regarding Alaul Khan Sur having any *iqta* under Ibrahim Lodi. But Sher Khan Sur certainly had his base in Sahasram which was held by his father Hasan Khan Sur in *Jagir* from Jamal

1. *Tarikh-i Sher Sahi*, Eng. tr. Ambashthya (Patna, 197 p. 33.

2. *Baburnama*, Eng., tr. Bev., vol. ii,pp. 477-78; B. M. Or. 3714, f. 370b.

3. *Waqiat-i Mushtaqi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kali Bharat*, vol. i, p. 165.

4. *Baburnama*, *op. cit.*, p. 523; *Akbarnama*, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 251; *Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Eng. tr Ranking, vol. i, p. 443; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p. 31; *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat*, *Babur*, p. 427.

5. *Baburnama*, *op. cit.*, pp. 587-88; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 463b.

Khan Sarang Khan of Jaunpur[1]. There is no information about Malik Dad Karrani having any iqta.

We now pass on to the process of submission of the above mentioned chiefs to Babur. First to submit to Babur was Malik Dad Karrani. Since at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra he was in the Agra fort, he had no alternative but to submit to him without any resistance[2]. Next to submit to Babur was Fath Khan Sarwani. Fath Khan Sarwani also submitted without offering any resistance to the Mughals. He submitted to Humayun sometime in August-September, 1526[3], when the latter passed through the environs of his territory during his expedition against Maruf Farmuli and Nasir Khan Nohani. Rao Sarwani also submitted about this time, for we notice him serving Babur in the Biana expedition against Nizam Khan towards the end of the year 1526[4]. Sher Khan Sur also came and waited upon Babur sometime before the end of the year 1527, as we notice him present in Babur's operations against Chanderi[5]. Alaul Khan Sur, however,

1. Tarikh-i Ser Sahi, Eng. tr. Ambashthya, pp. 12-13.

2. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, pp. 477-78; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 370b; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 636.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 534; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 423b; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 257

4. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 538; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 426a.

5. Tarikh-i Ser Sahi, op. cit., p. 103.

is not noticeable in Babur's service before 1529. He submitted to Babur in May 1529[1]. Qutab Khan of Etawa never submitted and was consequently driven out of Etawa[2].

Of the above mentioned chiefs only two rebelled against Babur after once submitting to him. One of them was Fath Khan Sarwani and the other Sher Khan Sur. Fath Khan Sarwani rebelled against Babur, as he had joined Sultan Mahmud Lodi, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, in his march towards Chunar in 1529[3]. Sher Khan Sur too, having submitted to Babur had escaped from his presence and[4] subsequently joined Sultan Mahmud Lodi[5]. After the withdrawal of Sultan Mahmud Lodi from Bihar Sher Khan Sur again professed his allegiance to Babur[6]. It seems that Fath Khan Sarwani and Sher Khan Sur were alternating in their allegiance due to the uncertainty of political leadership among the Afghans. They submitted to Babur soon after the defeat and death of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi,

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 659.
2. Ibid., p. 582; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 642.
3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 652; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 519b.
4. Tarikh-i Ser Sahi, Eng. tr. Ambashthya (Patna, 1974 pp. 106-107.
5. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 652; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 524b.
6. Ibid., p. 659; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 524b.

but when pressure was brought upon them by Sultan Mahmud Lodi, they did not hesitate to join the latter against the Mughals. Babur, on his part, realizing that Sher Khan Sur had wavered in his allegiance to him due to the pressure of Sultan Mahmud Lodi did not hesitate in forgiving him.

Out of the above mentioned chiefs, three of them rendered useful military services to Babur. The Karrani chief Malik Dad is one who is often found rendering military service to Babur against his brethern Afghans. He rendered military service to Babur against Hamid Khan Khasa Khail Sarang Khan of Hisar Firoza[1], against Rana Sanga in the battle of Kanwah[2]. He also rendered military service against Mian Bibban Jilwani[3] after the battle of Kanwah and again against Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli. Rao Sarwani also constantly rendered military service to Babur from 1526. He is found active against Nizam Khan of Biana and against Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli. Sher Khan Sur was also present, as mentioned above, in Babur's operation against Chanderi.

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 540; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 428a-b.

2. Ibid., p. 567; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 449b; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 262.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 582; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 516a.

The following table illustrates the military services given by the Sarwani, the Sur and the Karrani chiefs to Babur.

Table No.I

Name	Particulars of the expedition	References
Rao Sarwani	(i) Against Nizam Khan of Biana;	B.N. Bev.ii/538
	(ii) accompanied Babur in his eastern expedition in 1529 &	B.N.Bev.ii/582
	(iii) against Mian Bibban and Shaikh Bayzid.	B.N.Bev.ii/682
Sher Khan Sur	(i) Chanderi expedition (1527)	*Tarikh-i Ser Sahi*, Ambashthya p. 103.
Malik Dad Karrani	(i) Against Hamid Khan Sarang Khani in 1526;	B.N. Bev.ii/540
	(ii) in the battle of Kanwah;	B.N. Bev.ii/567
	(iii) against Mian Bibban Jilwani in 1527 and again	B.N. Bev.ii/582
	(iv) against Bibban and Bayzid in 1529.	B.N. Bev.ii/682

The Sarwani, the Karrani and the Sur chiefs were also favoured by Babur through the assignments of the revenues of various territories. The greatest beneficiary of the revenue assignment was Fath Khan Sarwani. Babur tells us that he bestowed upon him not only the parganas of his father but also conferred upon

him additional territories equivalent to a total value of 1 crore 60 lacs _tankas_.[1] Babur does not name the _parganas_ conferred upon him. Since we know that Azam Humayun Sarwani held the _iqta_ of Kara Manikpur, obviously Babur must have assigned Karrah Manikpur to him. But it is not possible to ascertain the name of the additional _parganas_ conferred upon him. The other chief who was favoured with the assignment of _parganas_ was Malik Dad Karrani[2]. In his case too, Babur does not mention the _parganas_, not even the value of the _parganas_. However, both of them were bestowed these assignments in the year 1526.

Among the Surs, it was only Sher Khan Sur who was favoured with the revenue assignments. In the account of the year 935 H(1529) Babur say that he had granted several _parganas_ to Sher Khan Sur in the previous year, i.e. in 934 H(1528). In his case, too, Babur does not name the _parganas_. Apparently Babur must have conferred upon him the _parganas_ which were held by him during the Lodi period. The following is the table of the revenue assignments made to the Sarwanis, the Surs and the Karrani chief.

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1. _Baburnama_, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 537; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 425b.

2. _Ibid_., pp. 477-78; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 370b. _Tarikh-i Alfi_, Hindi tr. Rizvi, _Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur_, p. 636.

Table No.II

Name	Value of assignments			Territory/*Pargana* given by Babur	Reference
	Cr.	Lacs.	Thou.		
Fath Khan Sarwani	1	60	-	Karra-Manikpur, but the name of the other *parganas* conferred upon him is not mentioned	B.N.ii/537
Sher Khan Sur	Value of the territory is not mentioned			Several *parganas*. Name of the *parganas* is not mentioned.	B.N.ii/652
Malik Dad Karrani	The value of the territory is not mentioned			*Parganas*; name not mentioned	B.N.ii/477-478

Babur also had social intercourse with some of the above mentioned chiefs. On one occasion he visited the house of Rao Sarwani in Sikandara and had meals there[1]; while on another occasion, he invited Fath Khan Sarwani to a feast at which he offered him wine. On this occasion Fath Khan Sarwani was favoured by Babur with the grant of a *dastar* and a *sarupa*[2]. Fath Khan Sarwani was also one of the few Afghan chiefs who were favoured by Babur with the grants of titles. The title Khan-i Jahan was conferred upon him[3]. In short, we notice that

1. *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, pp. 587-88; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 463b.
2. *Ibid*., p. 537; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 425b-426a.
3. *Ibid*., p. 537; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 425b.

the Sarwanis, the Surs and the Karranis, though numerically small, prominantly figured in the period under review. Malik Dad Karrani was also highly favoured by Shaikh Zain with the title of umdat-ul Ayai.[1]

1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 567; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 425b.

CHAPTER VII

CHIEFS OF THE VICINITY OF AGRA

There were a large number of Afghan chiefs whose clan affiliation is not known. We have grouped these chiefs into two separate chapters. In the present chapter we propose to give an account of such chiefs as held principalities near Agra, and were found active in the vicinity of Agra. Hence, the chiefs discussed in this chapter are Nizam Khan of Biana, Alam Khan of Tahanagar, Hasan of Kandahar, Makan, Hasan of Bari, Muhammad Zaitun, Rustam Khan 'Ilias Khan), Darya Khan, Muhammad Marghub of Mahawin, Qasim Sambhali of Sambhal and Milli Surduk.

NIZAM KHAN OF BIANA

Nizam Khan was one of the powerful Afghan chiefs of the vicinity of Agra. At the time of Babur's occupation of Agra, Nizam Khan was in possession of the important fort of Biana[1], while his elder brother Alam Khan held Tahanagar. Nizam Khan commanded a cavalary of 4 thousand Afghans and a infantry of about 10 thousand.[2]

Babur writes that he sent Qalandar, a piyadah, to Nizam Khan with encouraging farmans, but Nizam Khan

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 523; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 414a; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i p. 251; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. i, p. 443; Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p. 31; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 427.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 538; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 427a.

depending on the strength of the fort put forth demands beyond his stature. Babur further says that Nizam Khan did not give any clear reply[1]. Babur, therefore, decided to attack Biana. Simultaneously, Babur appointed Tardi Beg and his brother, Sher Afghan, along with several other central Asian and Hindustani amirs to go to Biana and plunder its neighbourhood. Babur directed the commanders of the expedition to win over the people within the fort of Biana through promises of favour, failing which the enemy was to be made helpless through plundering.[2]

In the meantime, Alam Khan, the elder brother of Nizam Khan who held the fort of Tahanagar, sent his men to Babur, expressing his obedience to him and offering that if an army was appointed by Babur he would undertake to capture the fort of Biana with the help of the tarkashband of Biana. Babur, therefore, sent a farman to Tardi Beg to undertake operations in accordance with the advice of Alam Khan for the reason that Alam Khan was a zamindar. Hence, the expeditionary forces consisting of 200 to 250 Turks and about two thousand Hindustanis approached, under the direction of Alam Khan, close to the huge forces of Nizam Khan of Biana. Nizam Khan's

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 529; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 419b.

2. Ibid., p. 538; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 426a.

forces unhorsed Alam Khan and repulsed the attack. Thereupon, Babur once again sent words to Nizam Khan inviting him to accept his overlordship. Since by this time the danger to Nizam Khan from Rana Sanga had become imminent, Nizam Khan through the mediation of Saiyyid Rafi surrendered the fort of Biana to Babur and entered his service. Babur conferred a pargana worth 20 lacs from Mian-i Doab upon Nizam Khan and appointed his own men in Biana[1].

After his submission to Babur, Nizam Khan remained loyal to him and rendered him military services on more than one occasion. In the battle of Kanwah he rendered military service to Babur in Jaranghar[2]. In the fathnama of the battle of Kanwah, compiled by Shaikh Zain he is mentioned with the lofty title, Umdat-ut Ayam. Later on, in May 1529, Nizam Khan along with several other Hindustani amirs, namely, Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi and Ali Khan Farmuli was sent on an expedition against the rebel Afghan chiefs, Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, who had fled towards Laknur[3] (Lucknow). After that no reference is traceable to Nizam Khan.

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, pp. 538-39; B.M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 426b-427a; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, pp. 256-257; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. i, p. 445; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 639.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 567; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 450a Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 262; Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p. 37.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., pp. 677-78; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 515a.

ALAM KHAN TAHANAGARI

Alam Khan Tahanagari was another Afghan chief of the neighbourhood of Agra. He was the elder brother of the above mentioned Nizam Khan of Biana[1], and held the fort of Tahanagar at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra[2]. When Babur was planning to send an expedition against Nizam Khan of Biana, Alam Khan sent his men to Babur expressing his allegiance to him and offering his assistance to Babur in capturing the fort of Biana if forces were appointed by Babur for this purpose. Babur had already appointed an army for an attack on Biana. Accepting the offer of Alam Khan, Babur sent orders to the commanders of the expeditionary forces against Biana to act in cooperation with Alam Khan Tahanagari. Alam Khan thus attacked Biana with the help of the Mughal forces. But Babur complains that because of the tactlessness of Alam Khan the expeditionary forces could not achieve success[3].

Before the battle of Kanwah, Alam Khan was sent to Gwalior which was then threatened by local Rajas[4], but Alam Khan instead of going to Gwalior fled to his own wilayat[5]. Hereafter, we do not hear about Alam Khan Tahanagari.

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 538; B. M. MS 3714, f. 426b.

2. Ibid., B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 426a.

3. Ibid., pp. 538-39; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 426a-427.

4. Ibid., p. 547; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 436a.

5. Ibid., p. 557; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 443a.

HASAN OF KANDAHAR

Hasan Khan son of Makan occupied a crucial fort near Agra. He was in possession of Kandahar at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra[1]. Soon afterwards, Rana Sanga began to march against Babur. He first laid seige to Kandahar fort. Hasan, the son of Makan, sent a person to Babur and requested his help against Rana Sanga. But, Babur was not in a position to send help to Hasan because he had already despatched several expeditions in different directions. Finally, Hasan, surrendered the fort of Kandahar to Rana Sanga[2]. It is difficult to say, whether he joined Rana Sanga or Babur after surrendering the fort of Kandahar. Thereafter we do not hear of him.

MAKAN

Makan was the father of the above mentioned Hasan who was in possession of the fort of Kandahar at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra. Earlier, during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lodi he was entrusted with charge of Mandrayal, near Kandahar[4]. He also served Ibrahim Lodi

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1. <u>Baburnama</u>, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 529; <u>Akbarnama</u>, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 255.

2. <u>Baburnama</u>, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 529-30; <u>Akbarnama</u>, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 255; <u>Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh</u>, Eng. tr. Ranking vol. i p. 444; <u>Tabaqat-i Akbari</u>, Hindi tr. Rizvi, <u>Mughal Kali Bharat</u>, <u>Babur</u>, p. 429.

3. <u>Baburnama</u>, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 529; <u>Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh</u>, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 444; <u>Tabaqat-i Akbari</u>, Hindi tr. Rizvi, <u>Mughal Kalin Bharat</u>, <u>Babur</u>, p. 429.

4. <u>Tabaqat-i Akbari</u>, Hindi tr. Rizvi, <u>Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat</u>, part i, p. 219;

against the rebellious Farmuli chief, Mian Maruf Farmuli[1]. Though Hasan handed over the fort of Kandahar to Rana Sanga, his father Makan seems to have joined Babur's service and was present in Babur's camp at Sikri prior to the battle of Kanwah. As Babur says, since he had then little confidence in Hindustani amirs he despatched them on different military expeditions, probably to keep them away from the battle of Kanwah. Makan was, therefore, sent with Hamid, Muhammad Zaitun and Qasim Sambhali towards Sambhal in order to relieve Sambhal which was then threatened by Mian Bibban Jilwani[2]. We no more hear of Makan during Babur's reign.

HASAN KHAN OF BARI

Hasan Khan was the holder of the fort of Bari, near Agra. There is only one reference to Hasan Khan of Bari. From this solitary reference, it seems that sometime after Babur's occupation of Agra, he had submitted to him. But as soon as Rana Sanga marched against Babur, the latter tells us that Hasan Khan of Bari deserted him and joined the service of Rana Sanga[3]. We do not know whether he fought for Rana Sanga in the battle of Kanwah against Babur or not. Thereafter, we do not hear about him

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1. Waqiat-i Mustaqi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, part i, pp. 162-63.

2. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 547; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 436a; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i p. 255.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 557; The Persian version says that Hasan Khan Bariwal fled away (gurekhta), see B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 443; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 641.

MUHAMMAD ZAITUN

When Babur occupied Agra, one Muhammad Zaitun was then in possession of Dholpur fort[1]. Babur sent Baba Quli Beg with a letter of favour and threat to Muhammad Zaitun, but he made excuses and did not submit to Babur[2].

Babur, therefore, sent a military expedition under the command of Sultan Junaid Barlas and other begs against Muhammad Zaitun[3]. But before these expeditionary forces reached Dholpur they were recalled and ordered to join Humayun in his eastern compaign[4] and, therefore, the conquest of Dholpur was postponed for the time being.

Later on, when Nizam Khan and Tatar Khan Sarang Khani handed over the fort of Biana and Gwalior, respectively, to Babur, Muhammad Zaitun had no alternative but to accept Babur's overlordship. He came and waited upon Babur. Babur made an assignment of a pargana worth few lacs to Muhammad Zaitun and Dholpur was made Khalisa[5].

1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 523; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 414a; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. p. 251; Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii p. 31; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 638.

2. Ibid., op. cit., p. 529; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 419b

3. Ibid., p. 530; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 420b.

4. Ibid., p. 531; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 421a-b.

5. Ibid., op. cit., p. 540; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 428a; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 257; Tarikh-i Firishta, op. cit., p. 34; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking vol. i, pp. 443-44; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 639.

Later on, before the battle of Kanwah, as Babur had a little confidence in Hindustani amirs, he sent Muhammad Zaitun along with other Hindustani *amirs*, namely Makan, Qasim Sambhali, Hamid, with his elder and younger brethern, towards Sambhal to defend Sambhal against Mian Bibban Jilwani[1] This is the last reference to Muhammad Zaitun in Babur's reign.

RUSTAM KHAN (ILIAS KHAN)

Rustam Khan, also mentioned as Ilias Khan, was one of the *amirs* of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi[2]. Whether he fought for Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat or not, we do not know. We next notice him during Babur's period. When Babur was preparing himself against Rana Sanga, at that time Rustam Khan collected quiver wearers from the Mian-i Doab and took possession of Kol (Aligarh) and imprisoned the Mughal governor, Kichik Ali[3].

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1. *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 547; *B. M. MS. Or. 3714*, f. 436a.

2. *Tarikh-i Shahi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, vol. i, p. 340; One Rustam Khan is mentioned as *hakim* of Kol (Aligarh) during the reign of Sultan Bahlol Lodi. It is difficult to say whether Rustam Khan of Bahlol's period is the same Rustam who was an *amir* of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, and who had captured Kol in Babur's time. see *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat*, part i, p. 207.

3. *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 557.

After the battle of Kanwah, Babur despatched a number of expeditions to recover the territories which had been lost during the period when he was busy against Rana Sanga. On March 17th, 1527, Babur sent a military contingent under the command of Muhammad Ali Jang Jang from Kanwah against Rustam Khan, who had taken Kol and imprisoned Kichik Ali, an officer of Babur. When the expeditionary forces reached near Kol(Aligarh) Rustam Khan (Ilias Khan) fled away. A few days later Rustam Khan was captured and sent to Agra, and finally he was flayed alive.[1]

DARYA KHAN

Darya Khan was also active near Agra. The author of Tarikh-i Firishta tells us that one Darya Khan along with Husain Khan Nohani of Rapri captured Rapri and Chandwar before the battle of Kanwah. After the battle of Kanwah, Babur sent an expedition towards Rapri and Chandwar. When the Mughal forces reached the above mentioned place, Darya Khan and Husain Khan fled away. In the process of crossing river Jumna Husain Khan lost his life while Darya Khan, however, succeeded in escaping[2]. After that we do not know about his activities.

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 576. It may may be noted that in this context Babur refers to Rustam Khan as Ilias Khan.

2. Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 38.

MUHAMMAD MARGHUB OF MAHAWIN

Muhammad Marghub was in possession of pargana Mahawin (District Mathura), to the north of Agra at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra. He is referred to by Babur as Muhammad Marghub the slave. He must have been a slave of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. But by virtue of the fact that he was in possession of a pargana it seems that he must have been elavated to the position of an iqtadar by Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. As such, he must have been a noble. Babur tells us that at the time of his occupation of Hindustan he did not move from Mahawin[1]. We have no evidence of his ever submitting to Babur. Nor is there any evidence of Babur capturing Mahawin fort.

QASIM SAMBHALI

Qasim Sambhali also held a principality not for off from Agra. When Babur occupied Agra, he was in Sambhal and did not accept the overlordship of Babur[2]. After the capture of Agra, Babur bestowed Sambhal upon Humayun. Since, in August 1526 Humayun had been sent agains the eastern Afghans, Babur could not get an opportunity

1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 523; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 414a; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i p. 251.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 523; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f.414 Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 251; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. i, p. 443; Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p. 31; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 427; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 637.

to capture Sambhal. However, soon afterwards, Qasim Sambhali sent several persons to Babur reporting that Mian Bibban Jilwani had beseiged Sambhal and requesting him to help him against Mian Bibban Jilwani. Babur sent Hindu Beg, Malik Qasim with his brethern, Mulla Apaq and Shaikh Ghuran against Mian Bibban Jilwani. On the approach of expeditionary forces, Mian Bibban Jilwani fled away from Sambhal. After that Qasim Sambhali came out from the fort and saw the Mughal commanders, but was unwilling to surrender the fort and made excuses. Then Shaikh Ghuran and Hindu Beg discussed the matter among themselves and succeeded in getting Qasim Sambhali out of the fort, which was then occupied by the Mughals. Qasim Sambhali along with his family was sent to Babur at Agra.[1]

After the occupation of Sambhal and the submission of Qasim Sambhali he seems to have remained in attendance upon Babur till the battle of Kanwah. He was present in Babur's camp at Sikri prior to the battle of Kanwah. As in those days Afghans had begun to create

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, pp. 528-29; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 418b-419a; This reference regardir Qasim Sambhali's waiting upon Babur is not traceable in the Persian version nor in the Turkish text. Mrs. Beveridge has taken it from Waqiat-i Babur. See also Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. i: p. 32; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking vol. p. 444; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Uttar Timur Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 428.

trouble and Mian Bibban Jilwani had attacked Sambhal, Qasim Sambhali was sent against Mian Bibban Jilwani. Another reason for sending Qasim Sambhali against Mian Bibban Jilwani was the fact that Babur did not want to retain the Afghans of doubtful loyalty with him on the eve of the conflict with Rana Sanga. He says that on account of this consideration he despatched the Afghans on various military expeditions[1]. This is the last reference to Qasim Sambhali in Babur's period.

MILLI SURDUK

There is only one reference to Milli Surduk in Babur's memoirs. While referring to the capture of Agra he says that among the soldiery in the fort of Agra there were three noted wise (dana) persons, namely Milli Surduk, Firoz Khan Mewati and Malikdad Karrani. In the first instance Babur ordered for the execution of the three, but on the intervention of some persons, Babur withdrew the order and pardoned them and restored their belongings to them. He further tells us that he conferred parganas upon them. Referring to the grant of parganas, he mentions Milli Surduk, Malik Dad Karrani and Firoz Khan Mewati as the amirs of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi[2].

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 547; B. M. MS Or. 3714, f. 436a. According to Tarikh-i Firishta, Qasim Sambhali deserted Babur before the battle of Kanwah, see Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p. 35.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., pp. 477-78; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 370b.

Thereafter, we do not hear of Milli Surduk. I. H. Siddiqi identified him as a Hindu Raja without giving any evidence for this identification[1].

A RESUME

The preceding biographical account of the above mentioned chiefs reveals that there is hardly any information about the role of these chiefs in the struggle between the nobility and Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. We first hear about the above mentioned chiefs only after Babur's occupation of Agra.

However, many of them seem to have occupied important position under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, for they held territories at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra. The chiefs who held territories were Nizam Khan, Alam Khan, Hasan of Makan, Hasan of Bari, Muhammad Zaitun, Muhammad Marghub of Mahawin and Qasim Sambhali. As there is no indication of their having occupied their respective principalities during the period between the battle of Panipat and Babur's occupation of Agra, obviously, they must have held their respective principalities as iqtas from the time of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, if not from the period of Sultan Sikandar Lodi or earlier. One of them,

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1. See I.H. Siddiqi, "The Composition of the Nobility under the Lodi Sultans", Medieval India: A Miscellany, vol. iv (Aligarh, 1977), p. 66.

namely Milli Surduk, though, did not have an _iqta_, yet, he is definitely mentioned by Babur as an _amir_ of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Rustam Khan (Ilias Khan) probably held Kol (Aligarh), as it appears from his biography. Nevertheless, some of them, like Nizam Khan of Biana and Qasim Sambhali, appear to have been powerful chiefs by virtue of the fact that they held very important principalities, namely Biana and Sambhal.

As pointed out by Babur, at the time of his occupation of Agra all the chiefs who were in possession of fortified towns had strengthened their defences and did not submit to him. Consequently, they had to be dealt with individually, one after another by Babur. Some of them submitted to him as a result of the applicati or demonstration of force against them. Nizam Khan of Biana and Qasim Sambhali can be placed in this category. Muhammad Zaitun and Milli Surduk submitted to Babur under conditions when they had no alternative, while Hasan of Kandahar was forced to seek Babur's intervention under the threat of Rana Sanga. As far as Alam Khan of Tahanagar is concerned, he offered allegiance to Babur perhaps because of internececine conflict with his brother Nizam Khan. There is no reference to the submission of Muhammad Marghub of Mahawin. Darya Khan also never submitted to Babur. Rustam Khan was, however, captured and flayed alive.

Let us now examine Babur's relationship with the Afghan chiefs who submitted to him. It may be noted that from among the chiefs who submitted to Babur, only two of them, namely Alam Khan of Tahanagar, and Hasan Khan of Bari, deserted Babur. While Hasan Khan of Bari openly deserted Babur and joined Rana Sanga before the battle of Kanwah, Alam Khan of Tahanagar fled away to his own wilayat after he had been deputed in a military expedition to Gwalior before the battle of Kanwah. The remaining chiefs, who had submitted to Babur are often noticed rendering military service to Babur.

Qasim Sambhali and Muhammad Zaitun were appointed by Babur in the expedition sent to Sambhal agains Mian Bibban Jilwani, before the battle of Kanwah. Nizam Khan of Biana not only served Babur in the battle of Kanwah in 1527 but was also appointed in the expedition against Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli in the year 1529.

Some of these chiefs were also conferred revenue assignments. The chiefs who were favoured with revenue assignments were Nizam Khan of Biana, Muhammad Zaitun of Dholpur and Milli Surduk. Nizam Khan of Biana was bestowed a pargana worth 20 lacs in Mian-i Doab[1].

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, pp. 538-39; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 426a-427a.

Muhammad Zaitun was also given a pargana worth few lacs[1]. A pargana was also given to Milli Surduk[2]. All those who were given assignments seem to have remained loyal to Babur. However, Nizam Khan of Biana was highly favoured by Babur, as in the Fath-nama of Shaikh Zain he is mentioned with the lofty title of Umdat-ul Ayan[3].

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 540; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 428; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. i, p. 257.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., pp. 477-78; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 370b.

3. Ibid., p. 567.

CHAPTER VIII

THE OTHER UNIDENTIFIED CHIEFS

In this chapter too, we have grouped together eight such chiefs whose clan affiliation could not be worked out. These chiefs are, Araish Khan, Mulla Muhammad Mazhab, Qazi Jia, Hamid, Haibat Khan gurgandaz, sons of Badruddin, Mahmud Khan and Aulya Ashraqi. Almost all of them appear to be persons of stature during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. At least three of them, namely, Araish Khan, Mulla Muhammad Mazhab and Haibat Khan gurgandaz are categorically mentioned in our sources as amirs of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Only one of them held an iqta under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, while another is mentioned as Shiqdar. We can further infer about the status of these individual chiefs from their biographical accounts given below.

ARAISH KHAN

According to author of Tabaqat-i Akbari, Araish Khan was one of the amirs of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi[1]. Little is known about his role in the politics of the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. On the basis of a reference to him in our sources in the context of Mughal-Afghan conflict in 1529, we can surmise that during the later years of

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1. Tabaqat-i Akbari, Persian text, vol. ii, p. 10. Earlier he was in the service of Nasiruddin Shah the ruler of Malwa. After the death of Nasiruddin Shah, Araish Khan was instrumental, along with Medini Rai in raising Prince Mahmud Khan(later styled as Sultan Mahmud Shah II) to the throne. Subsequently, his relations with the Sultan severed and he joined Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, see I. H. Siddiqi, Mughal Relations with the Indian Ruling Elite, (Delhi, 1983), pp. 38-39, see also U. N. Day, Medieval Malwa (Delhi, 1965)p.287.

Ibrahim Lodi's reign he was not happy with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. For, in the beginning of 1526, when Babur Shah was encamped near Jaswan Dun he received an envoy, named Shah Imad Shirazi, from Araish Khan and Mulla Muhammad Mazhab with letters conveying their good wishes for the success of Babur's campaign and expressing their allegiance towards him. In reply, Babur also sent farmans to Araish Khan and Mulla Muhammad Mazhab expressing his favour[1]. When we next come across a reference to Araish Khan we notice him fighting for Babur in the dast-i chap-i ghul in the battle of Kanwah against Rana Sanga. In the context of his services in the battle of Kanwah he is mentioned in the fathnama of Shaikh Zain as Umdat-ul Azam-wa-al-Ayan, Khan-i Muazzam[2].

Araish Khan also accompanied Babur in his expedition to Chanderi in January 1528. When Babur beseiged Chanderi he sent Araish Khan, who was a friend of Medini Rai, along with Shaikh Ghuran for negotiations. Through Araish Khan, Babur offered Shamsabad to Medini Rai in place of Chanderi. But Medini Rai did not accept the proposal.[3]

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 463; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 361b; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Persian text, p. 10.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 565; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 449a; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H.Bev., vol. i, p. 261; Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p. 38.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., pp. 593-94; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 466b.

In 1529, Araish Khan had a boat built and offered to Babur. Babur named the boat Araish[1]. It seems that Araish Khan remained loyal to Babur ever since his submission to him.

MULLA MUHAMMAD MAZHAB

The author of Tabaqat-i Akbari tells us that Mulla Muhammad Mazhab was one of the amirs of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi[2]. But very little is known about his role under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. We first come across a reference to him in the context of Babur's advance against Ibrahim Lodi in 1526. Marching against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi when Babur was encamped near Jaswan, he received arzadashts from Mulla Muhammad Mazhab and Araish Khan, conveying their good wishes for the complete success of Babur's campaign. In response Babur sent encouraging farmans.[3]

Later on, it seems that Mulla Muhammad Mazhab joined Babur's service. After the battle of Kanwah he was sent as an envoy to Bengal. On December 31st, 1528, he came from Bengal and waited upon Babur. He gave information to Babur about the attitude of the Bengalis, which was reported to be submissive.[4]

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 663; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 505a.

2. Tabaqat-i Akbari, Persian text, vol. ii, p. 10.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 463; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 361b; Tabaqat-i Akbari, op. cit., p.,10.

4. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 637; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 495b.

QAZI JIA

Qazi Jia appears to have been a notable person. Nothing is known about his role during the reign of Ibrahim Lodi. We first notice him only after Babur's victory over Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. After defeating Sultan Ibrahim Lodi when Babur occupied Agra, Qazi Jia along with Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, Firoz Khan Sarang Khani and Mahmud Khan Nohani came and waited upon Babur. Babur showed kindness and favour to him and conferred upon him an assignment of 20 lacs from Jaunpur.[1]

In 1526, Qazi Jia was appointed by Babur along with several other Hindustani amirs, namely, Firoz Khan Sarang Khani, Mahmud Khan Nohani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli in the expedition sent to conquer Etawa from Qutab Khan[2]. But later on this expedition was recalled and Qazi Jia was ordered to join Humayun's campaign agains the eastern Afghans, namely Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli[3]. After the conquest of Jaunpur by Humayun when Humayun was recalled by Babur from the east,

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev.,vol. ii, p.527; The word Jaunpur is missing in Mrs. Beveridge's English translation, while B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 417a, has Jaunpur; Akbarnama, Eng, tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 253; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 638.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 530; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 420b; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 258.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 531; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 421a-b; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 258; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 640.

the prince appointed Qazi Jia along with Shah Mir Husain and Sultan Junaid Barlas in Jaunpur in accordance with Babur's plan[1].

In January 1529, when Babur was at Dholpur, he received a letter from Qazi Jia redirected by Khalifa from Agra, from which Babur came to know that Sultan Mahmud Lodi, son of Sultan Sikandar, had taken possession of Bihar[2]. Qazi Jia was in attendance upon Babur in 1529 and rendered him military service in the battle of Ghagra[3].

After the battle of Ghagra in 1529, Qazi Jia along with other amirs, including Mahmud Khan Nohani and Taj Khan Sarang Khani, was appointed by Babur to pursue Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and prevent their crossing the Ganges at Chunar[4]. It seems that Qazi Jia remained loyal to Babur throughout.

HAMID

There is only one reference to Hamid and that, too, in Babur's service. It is in the context of the military expeditions which Babur sent in different directions from Sikri before engaging Rana Sanga in the

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 544; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 434a; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 640.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 639; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 479a.

3. Ibid., p. 668; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 507a-508b.

4. Ibid., p. 682; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 516a.

battle of Kanwah. Babur says that as he had little faith in Hindustani amirs, he despatched Hamid with his brethern along with other Hindustani amirs, namely Makan, Qasim Sambhali and Muhammad Zaitun towards Sambhal,which was then threatened by Mian Bibban Jilwani[1]. This is the only reference to Hamid and after that we do not hear about him

HAIBAT KHAN GURG-ANDAZ

Haibat Khan was one of the amirs of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. He was surnamed as gurzandaz (the wolf killer). He was a master in fox tricks. He seems to have been a loyal amir of Ibrahim Lodi. In Babur's time he is mentioned only once in our sources. From this solitary reference to him it appears that he joined Babur's service sometime before the battle of Kanwah. But when Rana Sanga marched against the Mughals in 1527 and several Hindustani amirs deserted Babur, Haibat Khan gurgandaz also deserted him on this occasion and went to Sambhal[2]. Thereafter, we do not know about his activities.

BADRUDDIN'S SON

There is only one reference to Badruddin's son during the period under review. We do not know his

1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 547; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 436a.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 557; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, p. 641; Tarikh-i Shahi, p. 340; Tarikh-i Daudi, p. 294, Tabaqat-i Akbari, p. 232.

name. During the time of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, Badruddin held an iqta in Kalpi.[1] In 1528,on his march towards Chanderi when Babur was near Kachwa, he, after encouraging the people of that place, bestowed Kachwa on Badruddin's son[2]. This is the only reference to Badruddin's son and after that we do not know about his activities.

MAHMUD KHAN, THE SHIQDAR

The person under reference was the Shiqdar of Sikandarpur. He is mentioned by Babur in the context of his attempt to cross river Saru in April, 1529, against the Bengalis. Babur says that on this occasion Mahmud Khan, the Shiqdar of Sikandarpur, sent an arzdasht to him saying that he had collected about 50 boats at Haldi passage and had already paid them the wages, but that the boatsmen were scared on hearing of the advance of the Bengalis[3]. This is the only reference to Mahmud Khan, the Shiqdar, from which it appears that he was loyal to Babur. Nothing is known about his position and role under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.

AULIYA KHAN ASHRAQI

There is only one reference to Auliya Khan Ashraqi in the contemporary sources during our period. It seems that before 1529 he was in alliance with the eastern Afghans. He submitted to Babur only after the

1. See Iqtidar Husain Siddiqi, "The Composition of the Nobility under the Lodi Sultans", Medieval India: A Miscellany, vol. iv, p. 58.

2. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii,,p.590, B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 465b.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 668; B. M. MS. Or. 3714,f.508a

conclusion of peace between Babur and the Nohani Afghans of Bihar in May, 1529. On May 21st, 1529, he, along with several other Afghan amirs, namely, Ismail Jilwani and Alaul Khan Nohani, came and waited upon Babur[1]. Thereafter, we do not notice him in the period under review.

A RESUME

The preceding biographical account reveals thatthere is hardly any worthwhile information about the role of these chiefs under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. From the fact that Araish Khan and Mulla Muhammad Mazhab sent an envoy to Babur before the battle of Panipat expressing their support to him against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, we can infer that these two chiefs, too, were not happy with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi despite their being amirs of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.

We have no evidence regarding the iqtas the above mentioned chiefs held, if any, under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. It was only Badruddin about whose iqta we know. As mentioned above in the account of his sons, he held an iqta somewhere within or near the territory of Kalpi during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi[2]. Another chief, Mahmud Khan, was the Shiqdar of pargana Sikandarpur in the environs of Bihar.[3]

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 677.
2. See I. H. Siddiqi, "The Composition of the Nobility under the Lodi Sultans", Medieval India: A Miscellany, vol. iv, p. 58.
3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 668, B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f.508a.

We now pass on to Babur's relations with the above mentioned chiefs. As pointed out earlier, only two of the above mentioned chiefs, namely Araish Khan and Mulla Muhammad Mazhab, had expressed their allegiance to Babur even before the battle of Panipat[1]. Next to submit to Babur was Qazi Jia, who submitted to him soon after his occupation of Agra in May 1526. Hamid and Haibat Khan gurgandaz also seem to have submitted sometime towards the end of the year 1526 or early 1527 as both of them are noticeable in Babur's service before the battle of Kanwah. Badruddin's son is first noticed in Babur's service in the month of January 1528. The remainin two chiefs, Mahmud Khan, the Shiqdar, and Aulya Khan Ashraqi are first mentioned in contact with Babur only in May, 1529.

It may be noted that most of these chiefs having once submitted to Babur seem to have remained loyal to him. Only Haibat Khan gurag-andaz deserted Babur soon after his submission. The only chief of doubtful loyalty was Hamid. Araish Khan, Mulla Muhammad Mazhab and Qazi Jia, in fact, distinguished themselves in Babur's service.

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 463; B. M. MS. Or.3714, f. 361b.

Many of these chiefs rendered valuable military services to Babur. Araish Khan fought for Babur in the dast-i chap-i ghul in the battle of Kanwah against Qutab Khan of Etawa in August, 1526 and, later on, served under Humayun against Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli in the same year. In 1529, Qazi Jia fought for Babur in the battle of Ghagra and later on in the same year was attached to the expedition sent in pursuit of Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli. Mahmud Khan, the Shiqdar, of Sikandarpur, also rendered military service to Babur in the battle of Ghagra in the year 1529, while Hamid was attached to the expedition sent against Mian Bibban Jilwani towards Sambhal before the battle of Kanwah. The following table gives the details of their military services.

Name	Particulars of the expedition	Reference
Araish Khan	In dast-i chap-i ghul in the battle of Kanwah; accompanied Babur in Chanderi expedition.	B.N.ii/565,593
Qazi Jia	Against Qutab Khan of Etawa; later under Humayun against Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli; also in the battle of Ghagra and against Bibban and Bayzid in 1529.	B.N.ii/530,531, 668, 686.
Mahmud Khan, the Shiqdar	In the battle of Ghagra	B.N.ii/668.
Hamid	Against Mian Bibban Jilwani before the battle of Kanwah.	B.N.ii/547

Two of the above mentioned chiefs also acted as Babur's emissaries. For example, Araish Khan was sent by Babur to Medini Rai for negotiations with him before his attack on Chanderi. Mulla Muhammad Mazhab also acted as Babur's ambassador to the ruler of Bengal. He was sent by Babur as his envoy to Bengal after the battle of Kanwah and returned to Babur in December 1528 bringing information about the attitude of the Bengalis.

However, only two of the chiefs discussed in this chapter were favoured by Babur through revenue assignm -nts. These were Qazi Jia and the son of Badruddin. Qazi Jia was conferred an assignment of 20 lac tankas from Jaunpur, while Badruddin's son was bestowed the pargana of Kachwa near Kalpi. Besides, Mahmud Khan, the Shiqdar of Sikandarpur, also seems to have continued as Shiqdar of pargana Sikandarpur, obviously through the favour of Babur. The following table shows the assignment conferred by Babur upon the above mentioned chiefs.

Name	The name of pargana/ territory	The value of assignment	Reference
Qazi Jia	Jaunpur	20 lac tankas	B.N.ii/527
Badruddin's son	Kachwa	not mentioned	B.N.ii/590
Mahmud Khan	pargana of Sikandarpur	value not mentioned	B.N.ii/668

In short, the chiefs grouped in this chapter rendered valuable services to Babur. In particular, Araish Khan, Mulla Muhammad Mazhab and Qazi Jia figure prominently. Araish Khan had even a boat built and offered to Babur which was commissioned by Babur in his service and used in the battle of Ghagra. Babur named the boat as "Araish", i.e. ornament.

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CHAPTER IX

CHIEFS ALLIED TO AFGHANS: SHARQI, MULTANI, MEWATI AND BHAKHARI

In this chapter we propose to discuss those chiefs about whom we are not certain as to whether they were Afghans or not, but who appear to be a part of Afghan polity and Afghan nobility. The chiefs we have grouped in this chapter are the Sharqi, Mewati, Multani and the Bhakhari. We know that Jaunpur was ruled for a long time by the Sharqi dynasty until the last Sharqi ruler Sultan Husain Sharqi, was overthrown by the Lodis and Jaunpur was incorporated into the Lodi kingdom. The descendants of the Sharqi ruling family seem to have been absorbed into the Lodi polity and retained same previlges. One of the Sharqi princes, Jalaluddin Sharqi, styled as "Sultan", still survived till the period of our study.

Af far as the Mewatis are concerned, though they were not Afghans, yet by virtue of the fact that the ruling family of Mewat acknowledged the suzerainty of the Lodis and at least one of them, e.g., Firoz Khan Mewati, was definitely an amir of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, we have included the Mewatis also in this chapter. Of the other chiefs included in this chapter, one is identified as Multani and the other as Bhakkari.

SULTAN JALALUDDIN SHARQI

We begin with Jalaluddin Sharqi. According to the author of Tarikh-i Firishta, Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi belonged to the Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur[1]. We first notice Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi in Babur's service in the year 1529. On February 25th, 1529, marching against Mahmud Khan Lodi, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, when Babur was encamped at Sarai Munda, Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi came along with his younger sons and waited upon Babur[2]. Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi had his residence in Karrah fort, but he also seems to have held Benaras, for when Benaras was attacked by Sultan Mahmud Lodi the fort was garrisoned by the men of Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi[3].

On March 1st, 1529, when Babur was encamped at Kusar near Karrah Manikpur, Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi offered hospitality to Babur. Babur spent four days in that camp and later visited the house of Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi inside Karrah fort, where he served cooked meat, and other 'viands' to Babur. Babur bestowed upon Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi and his sons dressess of honour. On

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1. Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p. 40, Firishta mentions Jalaluddin Nusrat Shah as his full name.

2. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 651; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 519a; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 664.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 652; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 519b.

Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi's request Babur conferred the title of Sultan Mahmud upon his elder son[1]. Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi also presented a boat to Babur[2].

Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi rendered military services to Babur on various occasions. He is first found serving Babur in the battle of Ghagra. He was given the charge of one of the four divisions formed in the battle[3]. On May 25th, 1529, when Babur came to know that Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli had fled towards Lucknow, he appointed Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi along with several other Hindustani *amirs*, namely Ali Khan Farmuli and Nizam Khan of Biana, to check enemy's crossing of the Saru river[4]. This is the last reference to Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi in our sources during the period under review.

SONS OF SULTAN JALALUDDIN SHARQI

There is only one reference to the sons of Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi. In March, 1529, when Babur, on his way towards Bihar, visited the house of Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi in Karrah he also came in contact with the sons of Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi. Babur says that he bestowed dresses of honour upon the sons of Sultan

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1. *Baburnama*, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 652; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 520b; *Tarikh-i Firishta*, Eng. tr. Briggs vol. ii, p. 40; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, Hindi tr. Rizvi, *Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur*, p. 644.

2. *Baburnama*, *op. cit.*, p. 663; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 505a.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 669; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 508b.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 678; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 515a.

Jalaluddin Sharqi[1]. He further tells us that on the request of Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi he honoured his eldest son with the title of Sultan Mahmud[2]. There is no further reference to Sultan Mahmud or the other son of Jalaluddin in Babur's time.

HASAN KHAN MEWATI

Hasan Khan Mewati was the son of Alawal Khan Mewati[3]. Mewat was an independent principality before the establishment of the Afghan power in Hindustan. Sultan Bahlol Lodi, after having established his power firmly on the throne, marched towards Mewat. At that time Ahmad Khan Mewati was the ruler of Mewat. Ahmad Khan submitted to him. After confiscating seven parganas from Ahmad Khan Mewati, the Sultan allowed the remaining parganas to be retained by Ahmad Khan as iqta.[4] Ahmad Khan, thereafter, remained loyal to the Lodis.

When Babur conquered Lahore and Dipalpur in the year 1524, as we are told by him, at that time Hasan Khan Mewati was busy in constructing his new capital at Alwar[5]. Later on, in April, 1526, Hasan Khan Mewati most

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 652; B. M. MS. MS. Or. 3714, f. 520b.

2. Ibid., p. 652; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 520b.

3. Tarikh-i Ser Sahi, Eng. tr. Ambashthya (Patna, 1974), p. 206.

4. Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. i, p. 322.

5. Baburnama, op. cit., pp. 477-78.

probably, fought for Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat against Babur, for one of his sons Nahar Khan by name, fell captive into the hands of the Mughals and they kept him as a hostage[1].

When Babur occupied Agra, Hasan Khan Mewati was still in Mewat and even refused to submit to Babur[2]. Hasan Khan Mewati sent one of his trustworthy men, namely Karam Chand, to Babur to get his son released but failed. Later on several amirs requested Babur that if he released Nahar Khan, Hasan Khan Mewati might join Babur's service. Finally, Babur after giving a robe of honour to Nahar Khan sent him to his father with the expectation that Hasan Khan Mewati would reconsider his position[3]. When Hasan Khan Mewati came to know about the release of his son, he hurriedly joined Rana Sanga shattering Babur's hopes[4].

Hasan Khan Mewati fought for Rana Sanga in the battle of Kanwah with a force of 12,000 cavlary[5]. He lost his life in the battle of Kanwah[6]. Consequently,

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 545.
2. Ibid., p. 523; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, pp. 637-38; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i , p. 251; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 427.
3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 545; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 640.
4. Baburnama, op. cit., pp. 544-47.
5. Ibid., p. 562.
6. Ibid., p. 573.

Babur marched into Mewat and occupied it. He appointed two of his begs in Mewat, one at Tijara and the other at Alwar.[1]

NAHAR KHAN MEWATI

Nahar Khan was the son of the above mentioned Hasan Khan, the ruler of Mewat. He had fought with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi against Babur in the battle of Panipat. With the defeat and death of Sultan Ibrahim Lod at Panipat Nahar Khan fell a captive to Babur. When Nahar Khan was under the detention of Babur at Agra his father Hasan Khan sent a number of messages to Babur to secure his release. Babur says that he released Nahar Khan hoping that on his release his father Hasan Khan would join him[2]. But Babur was disappointed in this respect, as described above.

After his victory over Rana Sanga and the death of Hasan Khan Mewati in the battle of Kanwah, Babur decided to attack Mewat. As Babur reached near Alwar, Nahar Khan sent his envoy, Karam Chand, to Babur praying for peace. Babur on his part, sent Abdul Rahim Saghawal to Nahar Khan. Shortly afterwards Abdul Rahim brought Nahar Khan to Babur's presence. Babur favoured Nahar Khan by

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, pp. 578-79.
2. Ibid., p. 545; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 434b.

conferring upon him a pargana with a few lacs as his wajh[1]. However, when Babur was returning from Mewat, towards Agra and was still in the territories of Mewat, Nahar Khan fled from the custody of Abul Rahim Saghawal[2]. Thereafter, we do not hear about him.

FIROZ KHAN MEWATI

Firoz Khan Mewati was one of the amirs of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. At the time of Babur's occupation of Agra he was inside the fort of Agra. Babur tells us that of the soldiery within the fort of Agra there were three wise men(dana) namely, Firoz Khan Mewati, Malik Dad Karrani and Milli Surduk. Though, initially Babur had ordered the execution of all three of them, but after about four or five days they were pardoned and their property (jami-i jihat) were restored to them and they were conferred parganas by Babur and included among his assignees. After that there is no reference to Firoz Khan Mewati[3].

MUJAHID KHAN OF MULTAN

Towards the end of the year 1526, Hamid Khan Sarang Khani had collected 3 to 4 thousand Afghans, including the Pani Afghans and had become troublesome

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 578; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 456b-457a; Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, pp. 37-38; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 642.

2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 581; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 459b.

3. Ibid., pp. 477-78; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 370b; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 636.

in Hisar Firoza. In such circumstances Babur despatched a military expedition against him. Mujahid Khan of Multan and Malik Dad Karrani were appointed in this expedition. They defeated Hamid Khan Sarang Khani's forces. This is the only reference to Mujahid Khan of Multan. Thereafter, we do not hear of him[1].

SHAIKH MUHAMMAD OF SHAIKH BHAKHARI

There is only one reference to Shaikh Muhammad of Shaikh Bhakhari. From this solitary reference we notice him rendering military service to Babur. Before the battle of Kanwah, Mian Bibban Jilwani had beseiged Lakhnur. After the battle of Kanwah, Babur appointed Shaikh Muhammad of Shaikh Bhakhari along with several other Hindustani amirs, namely Ali Khan Farmuli Malik Dad Karrani and Tatar Khan Khan-i Jahan to march against Mian Bibban Jilwani[2].

A RESUME

From the above mentioned biographical account we learn that at least one of the above mentioned chiefs, namely Firoz Khan Mewati, was definitely in the service of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. He is mentioned by Babur as one of the wise men (dana) and an amir of Sultan Ibrahim Lod:

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 540.
2. Ibid., p. 582.

It has not been possible to ascertain his relationship with the ruling family of Mewat. The other Mewati chiefs, Hasan Khan and his son Nahar Khan may not have been in the service of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, but they acknowledged his suzerainty. In any case, all the three Mewati chiefs seem to have remained loyal to Ibrahim Lodi almost till his death. Hasan Khan Mewati even fought for Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Kanwah against Babur.

Nothing is known about Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi and his family during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. The little that is known about him is that he had his house at Karrah. The fact that he bore the title of 'Sultan' suggests that the Lodis must have conferred this title upon him or recognised the right of using this title by Jalaluddin Sharqi. However, Jalaluddin Sharqi does not figure in the politics of the Lodi period. The names of the other two chiefs, Mujahid Khan of Multan and Shaikh Muhammad of Shaikh Bhakhari, are not even traceable during the Lodi period. Of the above mentioned chiefs, only Hasan Khan Mewati and his son Nahar Khan Mewati had a principality to rule, the revenues of which were 3 to 4 crores[1]. Firoz Khan Mewati, too, by virtue

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 577; While giving an account of Mewat, Babur mentions that the total jama of Mewat was 3 to 4 crore, but in the revenue list of the Baburnama the total jama of Mewat is mentioned as 1 crore 60 lacs and 80 thousand tankas, see, p. 521.

of being an amir must have held an iqta under Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, but there is no information about his iqta.

Regarding the process of subjugation of these chiefs by Babur it may be pointed out that Hasan Khan Mewati never submitted to him. He, infact died fighting for Rana Sanga in the battle of Kanwah against Babur. His son Nahar Khan also did not submit voluntarily to Babur, but was captured. After his father's death when Mewat was over-run by Babur in March 1527, he was obliged to wait upon Babur[1], but shortly afterwards he escaped from the Mughal custody[2]. As far as Firoz Khan Mewati is concerned, he being in Agra fort at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra had no alternative but to submit to him.

The Sharqi chief, Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi, seems to have submitted to Babur sometime before 1529, for, when we first notice him on February 22nd, 1528, we find him loyal to Babur. The other two chiefs, namely, Mujahid Khan of Multan and Shaikh Muhammad of Shaikh Bhakhari, are first noticed in Babur's service towards the end of the year 1526 and in the beginning of 1527, respectively.

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 578; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 456b-457a.

2. Ibid., p. 581; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 459b.

We notice three of these chiefs rendering military service to Babur. Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi rendered meritorious military services to Babur against Sultan Mahmud Lodi by defending Benaras against the latter's attack. He also served Babur in the battle of Ghagra and then against Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli in 1529. Mujahid Khan Multani rendered military service against Hamid Khan Khasa Khail Sarang Khani towards the end of 1526, while Shaikh Muhammad of Shaikh Bhakhari was commissioned in the expedition against Mian Bibban Jilwani who had beseiged Lucknur before the battle of Kanwah. The following table illustrates the military services given to Babur by the above mentioned chiefs.

Name	Particulars of the expedition	Reference
Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi	(i) His men defended Benaras against Sultan Mahmud Lodi.	B.N.ii/652
	(ii) Also served against Mian Bibban Jilwani and Shaikh Bayzid (1529)	B.N.ii/669
Mujahid Khan of Multan	Against Hamid Khan Khasa Khail Sarang Khani (1526)	B.N.ii/540.
Shaikh Muhammad of Shaikh Bhakhari	Against Mian Bibban Jilwani who had beseiged Lucknur before the battle of Kanwah (1527)	B.N.ii/582.

However, only two of the above mentioned chiefs were favoured by Babur with the grants of revenue assignments. One of them was Firoz Khan Mewati who was given a *pargana* and the other was Nahar Khan Mewati who was also given few *parganas* of the value of several lacs. Since Nahar Khan Mewati fled away from the camp of Babur soon after the bestowal of the *parganas*, never to be heard of again.

To sum up, only Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi seems to have been the highly favoured chief out of those discussed in this chapter. Babur not only visited his house for food, but also bestowed dresses of honour upon him and his son. Babur also conferred the title of "Sultan" upon his son. Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi on his part offered a boat to Babur which was named by him as "Gunjaish" (Capacious).

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CHAPTER X

SAINTLY PERSONAGES: THEIR ROLE IN MUGHAL -AFGHAN CONFLICT

In the present chapter we propose to give the biographies of some of the leading contemporary Muslim saints of Hindustan who figured prominently in the Mughal-Afghan conflict during the period under study. The saints who were conspicuous by their role were Shaikh Ghuran, Shaikh Jamali, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior and Saiyyid Rafi. As they seem to have exercised considerable influence and commanded respect from the Afghan nobility, as well as, the masses, they were an integral part of the Afghan polity. It is, therefore, not surprising that Babur tried to win them over and utilise their good offices in the Mughal-Afghan conflict in consolidating his position in Hindustan, as can be seen from the following account. We begin with the account of Shaikh Ghuran.

SHAIKH GHURAN

Shaikh Ghuran was a Shaikhzada of Kol. During the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi he held an iqta in the Mian-i Doab[1]. After the battle of Panipat when Babur ascended the throne of Agra, he sent farmans of favour to the tarkashband of Kol through Mulla Apaq. Shortly afterwards Shaikh Ghuran came along with two to three thousand

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1. See I. H. Siddiqi, "The Composition of the Nobility under the Lodi Sultans", Medieval India: A Miscellany vol. iv (Aligarh, 1977), p. 62.

soldiers and tarkashband from the Mian-i Doab and waited upon Babur[1].

In July 1526, Shaikh Ghuran was sent along with the quiver wearers of the Mian-i Doab and other Turk amirs, namely Hindu Beg, Kitta Beg and Malik Qasim with his elder and younger brethern against Mian Bibban Jilwani, who had beseiged Qasim Sambhali in Sambhal. When the expeditionary forces reached Sambhal, Mian Bibban Jilwani could not make any stand and fled away. Next day when other begs reached Sambhal, Qasim Sambhli came out of the fort and saw them, but refused to surrender the fort to the Mughals. Finally, Shaikh Ghuran and Hindu Beg succeeded in compelling Qasim Sambhali to surrender the fort of Sambhal to the expeditionary forces[2].

In November-December, 1526, Shaikh Ghuran along with Rahimdad and other amirs was sent to Gwalior to help Tatar Khan, who was then beseiged in the fort of Gwalior by one of the rajas of the neighbourhood of

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 526; B. M. M Or. 3714, f. 416a-b; Akbarnama, Eng. tr. H. Bev., vol. i, p. 253; Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs vol. ii, p. 32; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. i, p. 444

2. Baburnama, op. cit., pp. 528-29; B. M. MS. Or. 371 ff. 418b-419a; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 254; Tabaqa i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, pp. 428-29; Waqiat-i Mushtaqi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 441.

Gwalior. Babur directed Shaikh Ghuran to return after Rahimdad was established in Gwalior[1].

Shaikh Ghuran also rendered military services to Babur in the baranghar in the battle of Kanwah against Rana Sanga[2]. On March 17th, 1527, after the battle of Kanwah, Babur sent Shaikh Ghuran along with other begs from Kanwah against Rustam Khan (variation: Ilias Khan), who had taken Kol and made Kichik Ali prisoner. After a fight Rustam Khan could not make stand and fled away, but a few days later he was imprisoned and sent to Agra, where he was flayed alive[3], After the supression of the rebellion of Rustam Khan, Shaikh Ghuran was honoured with the title of Abul Fath[4].

In September, 1527, when Babur was at Kol, on the invitation of Shaikh Ghuran he visited his house. Shaikh Ghuran offered him meals and presents[5].

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 539; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 427b; Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking vol. i, p. 445; Tabaqat-i Akbari, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, pp. 530-31; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 639; Waqiat-i Mushtaqi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, p. 441.
2. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 567; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 449; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 262; Tarikh-i Firishta, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p. 36.
3. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 576; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 456a; Akbarnama, op. cit., p. 266; Tarikh-i Alfi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 642.
4. Waqiat-i Mushtaqi, Hindi tr. Rizvi, Mughal Kalin Bharat, Babur, p. 440.
5. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 587, B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 463a.

In January, 1528, moving towards Chanderi when Babur was encamped near Kalpi he sent Shaikh Ghuran in advance along with other amirs under the command of Chin Timur Sultan to Chanderi[1].

On April 27th, 1529, on his march towards east when Babur went southwards in the Ari (Ariah) pargana to see the sheets of lotus, during this excursion Shaikh Ghuran brought fresh set of lotus seeds for Babur[2]. Later on, in the same year when Babur was at Agra, Shaikh Ghuran sent a basket of grapes to Babur[3]

On September 7th, 1529, Shaikh Ghuran along with Nur Beg was sent to Gwalior to take the charge of Gwalior fort from Rahimdad[4]. After that we do not notice Shaikh Ghuran during the period under review.

SHAIKH JAMALI

Shaikh Jamali was another prominent saint of the period under review. He was the disciple and successor of Saiyyid Shamsuddin Saharwardi. He was a very learned man and was held in high esteem by Sultan Sikandar. He was

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 590; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 465a.
2. Ibid., p. 666; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 506a.
3. Ibid., p. 686; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 527a.
4. Ibid., p. 690; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 528b.

also a poet and a widely travelled person[1]. During the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi Shaikh Jamali lost his privileged position[2].

Shaikh Jamali is first mentioned in Babur's memoirs on the eve of the battle of Kanwah. Babur tells us that before engaging with Rana Sanga he sent Shaikh Jamali on February 29th, 1527, to collect the tarkashband from the Mian-i Doab and Delhi region and plunder the villages of Mewat, the ruler of which had already joined Rana Sanga. Shaikh Jamali, attacked a few villages of Mewat, but he could not produce much effect.[3]

We next notice Shaikh Jamali in Babur's service in the year 1528, when we find him present in a feast held at Agra on December 18th, 1528, in which he was seated to Babur's left along with other dignitaries.[4]

In the year 1529 (on April 21st), Shaikh Jamali was sent by Babur as his emissary to Jalal Khan Nohani of Bihar and his mother Dudu with encouraging farmans[5].

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1. Maathir-ul Umara, Eng. tr. vol., i, pp. 568-69.

2. See S. A. Latif's article, "Jamali's Relations with the Rulers of Delhi", Medieval India: A Miscellany, vol. iv, (Aligarh, 1977) p.70.

3. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 551; B. M. MS. Or. 3814, f. 439a.

4. Ibid., p. 631; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 490b.

5. Ibid., p. 665; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 506b.

As a result of this mission, in May, 1529, Jalal Khan Nohani waited upon Babur along with several other Afghan chiefs[1]. Shaikh Jamali was a great admirer of Babur and has composed six qasidas in praise of Babur. He had also expressed his happiness at the victory of Babur over Sultan Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat[2].

SHAIKH MUHAMMAD GHAUS

Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior was another highly respected saint of his time. Babur says that he was a darwesh and had a large following of students and disciples[3]. He belonged to the Shattari silsilah of the sufis[4]. When consequent upon Rana Sanga's capture of Kandahar Gwalior was beseiged by the rajas of the surrounding territory, Tatar Khan Sarang Khani sought Babur's help. Babur sent Rahimdad along with several other amirs, namely, Shaikh Ghuran and Mulla Apaq to help Tatar Khan Sarang Khani. When the Mughal forces reached Gwalior, the threat to Tatar Khan Sarang

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 665; B. M. MS. Or ..3714, f. 506b.

2. See S. A. Latif's article, "Jamali's Relations with the rulers of Delhi", Medieval India: A Miscellany, vol. iv (Aligarh, 1977), p. 71.

3. Baburnama, op. cit., pp. 539-40.

4. Rizvi, S. A. S Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century, (Agra 1965)., p. 64.

Khani was over. He, therefore, refused to surrender the fort to the Mughals. In such circumstances Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus sent a message to Rahimdad to enter into the fort through some device. Finally, with the help of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, Rahimdad succeeded in capturing the fort of Gwalior and Tatar Khan Sarang Khani was sent to Agra.[1]

Later on, when Rahimdad revolted against Babur, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus played an important role in bringing about reconciliation between Rahimdad and Babur. Hence, on September 7th, 1529, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus reached Agra from Gwalior and pleaded forgiveness for Rahimdad. Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus being a pious man, for his sake, as Babur says, he forgave all the faults of Rahimdad[2].

SAIYYID RAFI

Saiyyid Rafi was another notable saintly and learned person of the period. He is mentioned by Badauni as traditionalist(muhaddis)[3]. Babur writes that it was through his intervention that Nizam Khan of Biana surrendered the fort of Biana to him[4]. Later on, we notice

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, pp. 539-40.
2. Ibid., p. 690.
3. Muntakhab-ut Tawarikh, Eng. tr. Ranking, vol. iii, pp. 162, 187.
4. Baburnama, op. cit., p. 539.

Saiyyid Rafi in attendence upon Babur. On December 18th, 1528, when Babur held a feast in which Auzbek and Mangol envoys were present, Saiyyid Rafi was given a seat very close to Babur along with Muhammad Zaman Mirza and Auzbek Sultan Tang atmish. He seems to have had precedence over Abul Fath Shaikh Ghuran and Shaikh Jamali in the seating arrangmment[1]. Thus, it seems that he was a highly respectable figure of his time.

A RESUME

From the preceding account we notice that the saints actively associated themselves with the kings. Shaikh Ghuran even held an iqta from Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, although the relations of Shaikh Jamali with Sultan Ibrah: Lodi had severed. But, what is interesting to note is that in the Mughal-Afghan conflict the above mentioned saints, invariably, supported Babur. They even rendered valuable military services to Babur. Shaikh Ghuran, in particular, rendered valuable military services to Babur on various occasions[2]. As we have noticed above, he was associated with many military campaigns sent by Babur for the subjugation of the various Afghan chiefs after his occupation of Agra. Shaikh Jamali also rendered military service to Babur.[3]

1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 631.

2. Ibid., pp. 528-29, 539, 567, 576; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 416b, 419a, 427b, 449b, 456a.

3. Ibid., p. 551; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 439a.

These saints played a crucial role in the establishment of Babur's authority on some of the important forts. To illustrate, Sambhal, Kol(Aligarh), Biana and Gwalior passed under the domination of Babur only because of the support lent by these saints. They were effectively used by Babur as mediators. It was only due to the mediation of Saiyyid Rafi that Biana passed into Babur's possession[1]. Again, Gwalior also passed under the occupation of Babur only through the efforts of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus[2]. Besides, Shaikh Jamali was the person who was chosen by Babur as his envoy to Jalal Khan Nohani, the Nohani chief of Bihar[3]. Again, it was Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and Shaikh Ghuran who mediated between Babur and Rahimdad and brought about reconciliation between the two when the latter had revolted against Babur.

It seems that these saints were not only held in his respect by the Afghan nobility but also by the commoners, for, we notice that Shaikh Ghuran and Shaikh Jamali could also mobilize the solidiery and the tarkashband When Shaikh Ghuran paid his homage to Babur, he brought

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 539.
2. Ibid., pp. 539-40; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 490b.
3. Ibid., p. 665; B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 506b.

with him two to three thousand tarkashband and soldiers. Shaikh Jamali also mobilized and commanded tarkashband for Babur in the operations preceding the battle of Kanwah.

Babur held the above mentioned saints in high respect and mixed with them freely. The seats given by Babur to Saiyyid Rafi and Shaikh Jamali at the feast held by him on December 18th, 1528, show that they were given precedence over a number of Mughal nobles and were treated at par in protocol with the princes of the royal blood[1]. With Shaikh Ghuran, Babur mixed very freely. He not only accepted, from time to time, various gifts from Shaikh Ghuran, but also visited Shaikh Ghuran' residence for meals.[2]

It is difficult to ascertain the causes as to why the above mentioned saints lent support to Babur against the Afghans. Perhaps, with the defeat and the death of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat they realised that none other than Babur could establish his authority in Hindustan and perhaps as a result of this realization, as well as, with a view to avoiding bloodshead among the Muslims, they exercised their influence over the Afghan nobility to persuade them to acknowledge Babur's authority.

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 631; B. M. MS Or. 3714, f. 490b.

2. Ibid., p. 587, B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 463a.

CONCLUSION

We have noticed in the preceding chapters that there was hardly any Afghan clan whose exclusive loyalty Sultan Ibrahim Lodi could command. Members of almost every clan were divided among themselves, as far as the question of the loyalty to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi was concerned. Among the Lodis itself, most of the leading Lodi chiefs and princes were in revolt against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. The family of Daulat Khan Lodi, the most powerful of the Lodi families which had the capacity to mobilize an army of 20 to 30 thousand[1], was openly in revolt against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. As far as the Lodi princes are concerned, Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi and Sultan Mahmud Lodi being the rival claimants for the throne of Agra were openly in defiance of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. They commanded no meagre following. As we have noticed earlier, Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi had succeeded with the support of Daulat Khan Lodi in mobilizing an army of 30 to 40 thousand against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi[2]; while Sultan Mahmud Lodi separately commanded an army of about 10 thousand cavalry[3]. Thus the Lodi chiefs with the capacity of mobilizing an army of about 70 to 90 thousand were already alienated from Sultan Ibrahim Lodi when Babur

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1. As we have noticed in the year 1525 against Babur, see chapter 1, p. 5

2. See the biography of Sultan Alam Khan Lodi, Chapter 1, p. 18.

3. See, the biography of Sultan Mahmud Khan, chapter 1, p. 28.

was brandishing his swords on the frontiers of the Lodi Sultanat. It was only the Sarang Khani chiefs and Alam Khan Lodi of Kalpi who do not seem to have given any cause of concern to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.

Among the Nohanis, too, the most powerful of the Nohani families was in revolt against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Bihar Khan Nohani, the muqtai of Bihar, had already broken his allegiance with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and declared himself independent under the title "Sultan Muhammad". The loyalty of the Farmulis was also divided. While Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli of Oudh was loyal to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, another powerful Farmuli chief, Maruf Farmuli, had rebelled and joined the rebel Nohani chief of Bihar. The forces of the rebel Nohani and Farmuli chiefs stood at 40 to 50 thousand[1]. Among the Jilwanis the loyalty of the leading Jilwani chief, Mian Bibban Jilwani, was also lukewarm. The Sarwani chief, Fath Khan Sarwani, had also defied Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's authority.

Thus, severeconflict between Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and his nobility was in progress at the time when Babur was knocking at the doors of Hindustan. The progress of Babur's arms in Hindustan and his relationship with the Afghans can be broadly divided into two phases, the pre-Panipat and post-Panipat period.

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1. See the biographies of Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli, chapter III, p. 60.

PRE-PANIPAT PERIOD

Babur's relationship with the Afghans dated back to the year of 1519, the year in which Babur attacked and captured Bhira. As most of the trans-Sutlej part of the Lodi Sultanat was then in possession of Daulat Khan Lodi, Bhira was also held by him. It was then under the charge of his eldest son Ali Khan Lodi. Unable to resist Babur, Ali Khan Lodi offered allegiance to him by offering <u>peshkash</u>. But, this was a short lived sojourn of the Afghans with Babur. The lasting relationship could not be forged with Babur for two reasons: first, on account of the fact that Babur occupied Bhira and appointed his own officials there; secondly, for the reason that Mulla Murshid Iraqi, Babur's envoy to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, was not allowed by Daulat Khan Lodi to proceed beyond Lahore. Therefore, for the next few years we do not hear about any further developments in the Mughal-Afghan relations. It may be pointed out that until the year 1519 Babur was not involved in the politics of Hindustan.

Babur next came in contact with the Afghans in the year 1522. It was in this year that Daulat Khan Lodi in order to settle his scores with Sultan Ibrahim Lodi sent his son Dilawar Khan to Kabul to seeks Babur's help.[1] From this time onwards Babur got involved in the

1. According to <u>Tarikh-i Firishta</u>, Dilawar Khan waited upon Babur in Kabul soon after Babur's conquest of Qandhar, which had taken place in 1522, see <u>Tarikh-i Firishta</u>, Eng. tr. Briggs, vol. ii, p. 24.

politics of the Lodi Sultanat and entered into a number of alliances with the Afghans leading to his victory at Panipat. Babur's alliances with the Afghans and the changing Afghan coalitions during the pre-Panipat period can be gleaned as follows. .

First Mughal-Afghan Alliance:

The first Mughal-Afghan alliance was made between Babur and Daulat Khan Lodi and his family when the latter invited Babur to help them in their struggle against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi as pointed out above. In this alliance no gains were promised to Babur, but support of Babur was required against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi.
In response to the request of Daulat Khan Lodi Babur came to the Panjab and defeated the forces of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi led by Bihar Khan Lodi, Mubarak Khan Lodi and Bhikhan Khan Nohani near Lahore in the year 1524.
As Daulat Khan Lodi had fled away from Lahore for the fear of the above mentioned army of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, Babur defeated the forces of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi single handedly, without receiving any help from Daulat Khan Lodi. Thus, Babur took the credit solely to himself for his victory over Ibrahim Lodi's forces and appointed his own men in various parts of the trans-Sutlej region, which was formerly held by Daulat Khan Lodi and his family. This could not be acceptable to Daulat Khan Lodi, who had invited Babur to help him against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, not to be deprived by him of his territories.

Obviously, Daulat Khan Lodi refused to compromise and conspired to kill Babur. Hence, ended the first Mughal-Afghan alliance before the end of 1524.

Second Mughal-Afghan Alliance:

The second Mughal-Afghan alliance was affected sometime in the beginning of 1525 when Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi having been expelled from Dipalpur by Daulat Khan Lodi waited upon Babur in Kabul[1]. Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi requested military assistance from Babur to march against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Babur responded to Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi's request favourably. It was agreed between Babur and Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi that after overthrowing Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi would ascend the throne of Agra and cede to Babur the trans-Sutlej territories which were earlier held by Daulat Khan Lodi and his family and which were now in possession of Babur's officials, appointed in the previous year (1524). But this alliance also could not last long, for, on descending the plains of the Panjab, Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi backed out from his agreement with Babur and made overtures to Daulat Khan Lodi with whom he made a major coalition.

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1. For details of Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi's flight to Kabul, see chapter 1, p. 17.

As mentioned above, on reaching Lahore Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi disbanded the Mughal forces and entered into an agreement with Daulat Khan Lodi and his son Ghazi Khan Lodi. According to the agreement it was agreed upon that Daulat Khan Lodi would give military assistance to Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi in over throwing Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and in return Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan would confirm Daulat Khan Lodi in his former trans-Sutlej possessions. Thus, the territories which were promised by Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi to Babur were now simaltaneously promised by him to Daulat Khan Lodi. It was worked out between the allies that while Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi would march with Haji Khan and Dilawar Khan against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, Daulat Khan and Ghazi Khan would stay back in the Panjab and expel Babur's officers, from the Panjab. This coalition between Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi and Daulat Khan Lodi was a double-edged coalition. On the one hand it was aimed against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, while, on the other, directed against Babur. Neverthless it was a formidable Afghan coalition. As per agreement, Daulat Khan Lodi and Ghazi Khan stayed back in the Panjab and having mobilized an army of 30 to 40 thousand began to attack Babur's officers in the trans-Sutlej region. Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi on his part having mobilized a large force consisting of Haji Khan, Dilawar

Khan, Mahmud Khan Nohani son of Khan-i Jahan, Mian Bibban Jilwani, Sulaiman Shaikhzada Farmuli of Indri, Shaikh Jamal Farmuli, Saif Khan Nohani, Jalal Khan fighat, Ismail Jilwani and his own eldest son Jalal Khan, marched against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at the head of an army of 30 to 40 thousands.

Like the above mentioned Mughal-Afghan alliance, this Afghan coalition, too, could not survive. A number of Afghan chiefs namely, Ismail Jilwani, Saif Khan and Mahmud Khan Nohani deserted Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi and switched over to the side of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi even before Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi could give a battle to Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Others also deserted him after sustaining the defeat at the hands of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi near Hodal. This situation was fully exploited by Babur who, in the meantime, on hearing of Daulat Khan Lodi's operations against his officers had descended on the plains of the Panjab. Sandwitched between Babur on the one hand and Sultan Ibrahim Lodi on the other, most of the Afghan chiefs submitted to Babur by January-February, 1526. Thus, before Babur advanced against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi all the territories of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's Sultanat to the north west of Delhi had already passed under the possession of Babur. Territorially, we can say that in the pre-Panipat phase Babur was already the master of about one fourth of the domains of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. The real struggle for him lay ahead in the post-Panipat period.

POST PANIPAT PERIOD

The post Panipat period was the most crucial period in the Mughal-Afghan relations. The battle of Panipat hardly brought any territorial gains to Babur. It added only Delhi and Agra to Babur's pre-Panipat conquests. The rest of the Lodi empire was held out by defiant Afghan chiefs in their possession. The process of subjugation of the Afghans was yet to start. As Babur himself pointed out, at the time of his occupation of Agra all the forts around Agra were in possession of various chiefs who had strengthened themselves in their respective forts[1]. The country from Qanauj upto Bihar was under the domination of the Nohani and Farmuli chiefs, namely Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli. The position of various chiefs at the time of Babur's occupation can be gleaned from Appendix No.V, also illustrated on map no.1.

In such a situation when most of the forts and territories were still held out by the Afghans, Babur rightly says that he was in a fix and did not know what to do. For nearly three months from the middle of May to the middle of August 1526 it was a period of inactivity and indecision on the part of Babur caused by the discontentment of his nobility which was unhappy because of the hostile situation all around Agra was no more ready to risk any

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1. Baburnama, Eng. tr. Bev., vol. ii, p. 523.

futile adventure resulting in any unstable conquests. The momentous battle with Sultan Ibrahim at Panipat had added nothing except Delhi and Agra, which could safeguard their interests. Not content with the monetary rewards which fell to their share at the time of the distribution of treasures at Agra they perhaps looked for more lasting rewards, i.e. the revenue assignments. The territories conquered during the pre-Panipat phase had already been assigned by Babur to a section of nobility, namely to Hindu Beg, Kitta Beg, Langar Khan Janjuha, Husain Aikzak, Khusro Kakultash, Muhammad Ali Jang Jang, Abdul Aziz mir-akhur, Khwaja Husain and Baqi Shagawal. There was nothing that fell after Panipat which could be given to the remainder of the nobility. A number of senior nobles like Khwaja Kalan, Mehdi Khwaja and Sultan Junaid Barlas remained without any territories. Babur was, therefore, in a fix, not knowing what to do and had to pursude his nobility to stay back in Hindustan. Not being in a position to launch fresh military adventures, he started negotiations with the Afghan chiefs asking them to surrender to him, but without receiving favourable response from them. However, the voluntary submission of some of the Afghan chiefs brought some relief to Babur. Amongst the Afghan chiefs who voluntarily came and submitted to Babur were Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli, Mahmud Khan Nohani, Qazi Jia, Firoz Khan Sarang Khani and Ali Khan Farmuli.

It was, however, from the middle of August, 1526 that Babur started the process of conquest of the earstwhile kingdom of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi. Therefore, the process of the subjugation of the Afghans and the expansion of Babur's authority in the post-Panipat period can be sub-divided into the following phases.

First Phase:

The period from the middle of August to November 1526 can be regarded the first phase of the expansion of Babur's authority (in the post-Panipat period) in Hindustan. This period began corresponding with the establishment of his authority over Rapri, i.e. simultaneously to Rana Sanga's occupation of Kandahar, and ended with Babur's capture of Biana from Nizam Khan. Among other forts of the region surrounding Agra which were captured by Babur during this period were Dholpur, Kol, Gwalior, Sambhal and Qanauj. In the east, Babur's authority expanded as far as Jaunpur and Kharid on the borders of Bihar as a result of Humayun's expedition. In the course of Humayun's expedition he had succeeded in not only driving back Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli as far as Kharid but also in wining over the allegiance of the Sarwani and Lodi chiefs, namely Fath Khan Sarwani and Alam Khan Lodi of Kalpi respectively, before he reported back to Babur in the first week of January, 1527. No fresh conquest was made from December, 1526 till March, 1527, as during this period Babur was busy in preparations against Rana Sanga.

On the other hand, some of the territories which were conquered by Babur during the first phase were lost during the period of Babur's pre-occupation against Rana Sanga.

Second Phase:

The second phase starting with the victory over Rana Sanga on 17 March, 1527 saw the subjugation of Badaun and Etawa which had not been conquered during the earlier period. It was during this phase that the territories which were conquered by Babur during the preceding period but were lost by him to the Afghans during the period of his pre-occupation with Rana Sanga were recovered. These were Rapri and Kol. Mewat was also added to Babur's domain during this phase, which ended in May, 1527. From May to December, 1527 no fresh progress was made on the front of the Afghans.

Third Phase:

During the third phase, from January to April, 1528, Babur was able to add Chanderi and Oudh to his domain. Chanderi was conquered from Medini Rai in January-February, 1528. Oudh, which had been conferred by Babur upon Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli was now, consequent upon Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli's rebellion, captured by Babur and put under the charge of Mir Baqi Beg.

Fourth Phase:

During the fourth and the final phase, March-June,1529, Babur succeeded in establishing his authority in Bihar. It was during this period that Jalal Khan Nohani, the grand son of Darya Khan Nohani, submitted to Babur. Among other Afghan chiefs who acknowledged Babur's authority during this phase were, Farid Khan Nohani, the son of Nasir Khan Nohani, Sher Khan Sur, Alaul Khan Sur, Ismail Jilwani, Alaul Khan Nohani Aulya Khan Ashraqi and Yahya Khan Nohani.

Afghan Coalitions Against Babur:

What is interesting to note is the nature of Afghan resistance to Babur and the changing Afghan coalitions during the post-Panipat period of the expansion of his authority in Hindustan. It may be noted that during the first and the second phases of the expansion of Babur's authority, most of the Afghan chiefs offered resistance to Babur individually and independently of each other. For example, in the beginning the resistance was offered to Babur individually from multiple quarters. In the beginning, while the major offensive was led by Nasir Khan Nohani and Maruf Farmuli, the Jilwani chief, Mian Bibban, was trying of his own to carve out a position for himself around Sambhal. The other Afghan chiefs holding various forts around Agra were also defending their forts individually. No two Afghan chiefs are noticeable acting together. But after the

rebellion of Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli in 1528 we notice that three leading chiefs, namely Mian Bibban Jilwani, Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Maruf Farmuli joined hands together. A year later, in 1529, these three chiefs joined hands with Sultan Mahmud, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi and fought under his leadership. Fath Khan Sarwani and Sher Khan Sur also joined them. It is interesting to note that Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Maruf Farmuli who were fighting each other during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, the former for Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and the latter against Sultan Ibrahim Lodi, were now fighting together against Babur. Thus we notice that a large number of Afghan chiefs setting aside their differences united under the command of Sultan Mahmud Lodi. It seems that in the course of Afghan resistance to Babur the Afghans gradually began to realise that it was not possible for them to put up a resistance to Babur until they were united under one leadership, a fact which was best realised by Sher Khan Sur who later on succeeded in mobilizing the Afghans under his leadership. We can say that some change was gradually taking place in the Afghan polity. The Afghans who were earlier not willing to fight under the command of the brethern Afghans were not willing to organise themselves under one command. This became possible, perhaps, only because of the challenge from Babur. However, Babur through his policy of revenue assignments and by conferring other favours upon the Afghans succeeded

to a considerable extent in keeping the Afghans divided and utilizing the service of a large number of Afghans in consolidating his position in Hindustan. We now pass on to a discussion of the revenue assignments made by Babur to the Afghans

BABUR'S ASSIGNMENTS TO AFGHANS

As we have noted in the preceding chapters, right from the time of his conquest of Lahore in 1524, Babur assigned various principalities to Afghan chiefs who submitted to him. In many cases he restored to the Afghans the same principalities which they had held at the time of their submission to Babur. In the following tables we have given an account of the revenue assignments conferred by Babur, from time to time, upon various Afghan chiefs.

Table No.I

Afghan chiefs in whose cases the value of Assignments is known

Name of the Afghan chief	value of the assignment in <u>tankas</u>				Name of the <u>pargana</u>/ territory against which the assignment was made.
1.	2.				3.
	Cr.	Lac.	Th.	Hund.	
1. Alam Khan of Kalpi	4	28	55	950	Kalpi (B. N. ii/ 521)
2. Ali Khan Farmuli	-	25	-	-	Name of the <u>pargana</u> not mentioned (B.N.Bev.ii/ 527).
3. Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli	1	48	50	-	Oudh (B. N. Bev. ii/527)

1.		2.				3.
4.	Fath Khan Sarwani	1	60	-	-	*Parganas* held by his father (Karrah Mankpur) and some other *parganas* (B. N. Bev., vol. ii/53
5.	Firoz Khan Sarang Khani	1	46	05	-	from Jaunpur (B. N. Bev. /527).
6.	Ismail Jilwani	-	72	-	-	from Sarwar(B. N. Bev.ii 679)
7.	Jalal Khan Nohani	2	55	60	-	from Bihar (B. N. Bev.ii 676)
8.	Mahmud Khan Nohani	-	90	35	-	from Ghazipur (B. N. Bev /527)
		-	50	-	-	from Bihar (B. N. Bev.ii 676)
9.	Musa Farmuli	-	30	-	-	*pargana* from Amarhar (Amroha?) (B. N. Bev.ii/ 685)
10.	Nizam Khan of Biana	-	20	-	-	*pargana* in Mian-i Doab (B. N. Bev. ii/539)
11.	Qazi Jia	-	20	-	-	from Jaunpur(B.N.Persia /417a).
12.	Shah Muhammad Farmuli	1	10	18	373	Sarn (B.N.Bev.ii/521)
	-do-		43	30	300	Kandla (B.N.Bev.ii/521)
13.	Tatar Khan Sarang Khani	-	20	-	-	*pargana* Biawah(Bianwan?) (B. N. Bev.ii/540)
14.	Yahya Nohani	-	15	-	-	from Sarwar (B.N. Persia 517a)
	Total	16	34	54	623	

Before we emphasise the significance of the above table, it may be pointed out that in the cases of Alam Khan Lodi of Kalpi (Sr.No.1) and Shah Muhammad Farmuli (Sr.No.2) of the above table, the value of revenue assignments made to Alam Khan Lodi of Kalpi and Shah Muhammad Farmuli is not mentioned by Babur. But we know that Alam Khan Lodi was confirmed in Kalpi by Babur and Shah Muhammad Farmuli was granted Saran and Kandla. However, the value of Kalpi, Saran and Kandla is given in the revenue list of the Baburnama. We have, therefore, shown the value of the principalities assigned to Alam Khan and Shah Muhammad on the basis of the revenue list of the Baburnama.

Looking at the above mentioned table we find that Babur alienated a total sum of 16 crore, 34 lacs, 54 thousands and 623 tankas in favour of the Afghans. Considering the fact that the total jama of Babur's empire in Hindustan was 52 crore tankas, as pointed out by him in the Baburnama, the amount of 16 crore, 34 lacs, 54 thousand and 623 tankas was a substantial sum and constituted about one-third of the total jama of his empire. It may, however, be pointed out that out of the total jama of 52 crore tankas, Babur says that 8 to 9 crore came from the Rais and Rajas in the form of peshkash. If we exclude this amount of 8 to 9 crore from the total jama figure, then Babur would have been left with only 43 to 44 crore tankas as the jama of his empire which

he could alienate in favour of his nobles, the central Asian as well as the Hindustani. Out of these 43 to 44 crore, the figure of 16 crore, 34 lacs, 54 thousand and 623 tankas constituted still higher proportion than one-third.

In fact the share of the Afghans among the revenue assignments of Babur was still higher than argued above, for in the above table we have listed the assignments of only such chiefs in whose cases the exact value of assignmentswas known. There were other chiefs also who were bestowed revenue assignments by Babur but in whose case the value of the assignments is not known. We have listed such chiefs in the following table.

Table No.II

Chiefs who were granted parganas the value of which is not known.

Name of the Noble	Value of the assignment in tankas	Name of the pargana(s) assigned.
1.	2.	3.
1. Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi	Not mentioned	Dipalpur(T.F.Persian/202)
2. Alaul Khan Nohani	-do-	from Sarwar(B.N.persian/514a).
3. Badruddin's son	-do-	Kachwah(B.N.Bev.ii/590)
4. Dilawar Khan Lodi	-do-	Sultanpur(T.F.Eng.tr.ii/24)

5.	Firoz Khan Mewati	Not mentioned	*pargana*(s) not named (B.N.Bev. ii/478).
6.	Malik Dad Karrani	-do-	*pargana*(s) not named (B.N. Bev.ii/478).
7.	Milli Surduk	-do-	*pargana*(s) not named (B.N.Bev.ii/478).
8.	Muhammad Zaitun	Several lacs	*pargana* not named (B.N.Bev.ii/§40).
9.	Nahar Khan Mewati	Several lacs	*pargana* not named (B.N. Bev.ii/578).
10.	Sher Khan Sur	Not mentioned	*pargana*(s) not named (B.N.Bev. ii/652).

In the above table we know the names of the *parganas* assigned to the chiefs mentioned against serial numbers 2 to 4, but not the value of the *parganas*. About the chiefs against serial numbers 8-9, Babur says that he assigned to each of them a *pargana* worth the value of several lacs. In other cases, i.e. pertaining to the chiefs mentioned against serial numbers 5-7 and 10, he says that he conferred *parganas* (in plural) but not mentioning the value of the *parganas*. Therefore, minimum number of *parganas* that must have been assigned to the chiefs against serial numbers 5-7 and 10 must have been at least 2 *parganas* per chief. Since, to the remaining six chiefs Babur assigned one *pargana* each and to these four chiefs two *parganas* each, then at least 14 *parganas* must have been assigned by Babur to the chiefs mentioned in the above mentioned table No.II. As in none of the known cases

Babur ever made an assignment of the value of ~~xmx~~ less than 15 lacs each, we can assume that the value of each of the fourteen <u>parganas</u> must have been 15 lac <u>tankas</u>. Thus, we can infer that the assignments of the value of 2 crore, 10 lacs were conferred by Babur upon the chiefs mentioned in the above table. When we add this figure of 2 crore and 10 lacs to the total of 16 crore, 34 lacs, 54 thousand and 623 hundred <u>tankas</u>, i.e. to the total of table No.1, it would amount to 18 crore, 44 lacs, 54 thousand and 623 hundred <u>tankas</u>, thus further swelling the share of the Afghan chiefs in the total <u>jama</u> of Babur's empire.

Further, it may be noted that there were a number of other chiefs who submitted to Babur and rendered valuable service to him. These chiefs were also in possession of various principalities the value of which is not known. Such chiefs are listed in the following table.

Table No.III

Chiefs in whose cases there is no reference to the bestowal of assignments by Babur but who were in Babur's service and held <u>parganas</u>.

Name of the Noble	Value of the assignment in <u>tankas</u>	Name of the <u>pargana</u> hel
1. Alam Khan Tahanagri	Not known	Tahanagar
2. Sultan Jalal-uddin Sharqi	-do-	Banares(?)
3. Mahmud Khan the <u>Shiqdar</u>	-do-	Sikandarpur
4. Taj Khan Sarang Khani	-do-	Chunar

All the four chiefs mentioned in the above table were already in possession of the principalities mentioned against their names. Only Alam Khan of Tahanagar mentioned against serial No. 1 had fled away from Babur's service in 1527. The remaining three chiefs seem to have retained their respective principalities and are noticeable in Babur's service till the end of his reign. Therefore, if we include the value of the principalities of Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi, Mahmud Khan, the Shiqdar of Sikandarpur and Taj Khan Sarang Khani (sr.no!s. 2-4) in the total value of assignment alienated by Babur in favour of the Afghan chiefs, it would further enhance the share of the Afghans in the total jama of Babur's empire in Hindustan.

Besides, it may be noted that there were a number of other chiefs we find active in Babur's service but there are no reference regarding the bestowal of any assignments to them. To name a few, Araish Khan, Shaikh Ghuran, Mulla Muzhab, and Rao Sarwani are often found rendering military service to Babur. It is likely that they were conferred assignments by Babur during the period of gaps in the memoirs of Babur. Supposing these chiefs were also granted revenue assignments, the total value of assignments made to the Afghan chiefs would likely increase to about fifty percent of the jama of Babur's empire in Hindustan. However, it may be mentioned that two of the chiefs, namely Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli and Fath Khan Sarwani, had rebelled against

Babur and in the case of Shaikh Bayzid we know that he was driven out of Oudh which was then put by Babur under the charge of Mir Baqi Beg. We do not know whether Fath Khan Sarwani's assignment was resumed or not. We may, therefore, deduce the value of revenue assignments made by Babur to these Afghan chiefs from the total value of assignments made to the Afghans. But given the value of assignments which must have been made to Araish Khan and the other above mentioned chiefs, it would hardly affect the position of the Afghans in terms of revenue assignments made to them.

In short, what we want to submit is that the Afghan chiefs constituted a formidable section of Babur's nobility in Hindustan and shared about one half of the resources of Babur's empire in Hindustan. They were equal partners with the central Asian nobles in the governing class under Babur. They constituted a major power in Hindustan throughout the reign of Babur.

It would, therefore, be wrong to say that the Afghan ruling class came to an end with the battle of Panipat. The battle of Panipat was decisive only in terms of the fact that it resulted in overthrowing the ruling Afghan dynasty; but not the Afghans as the ruling power. It was only as a result of the realisation of their power that Babur made compromises with them and accommodated them in his ruling class through the bestowal of revenue assignments upon them and by utilizing

their military services against their fellow Afghans. However, he took care to see that the Afghans were not allowed to retain their forts and possessions around Agra, the capital. Although the Afghan chiefs who held principalities around Agra were displaced from their strongholds, yet they were assigned principalties in other parts of the empire while Mughal officers were appointed in the forts around Agra. The Afghans were mostly conferred revenue assignments in the eastern part of the Babur's empire, as can be seen from the map(No.ii) appended at the end. It was as a result of the concentration of the Afghans in the east that the next Afghan dynasty which arose under the leadership of Sher Khan Sur had its centre in the east.

There were possibly two reasons for conferring assignments to the Afghans in the eastern parts. First, the Afghans were too powerful in the east to be overthrown and were, therefore, restored the eastern principalities after their submission to Babur. Secondly, no central Asian noble of Babur was willing to accept any assignments in the east.[1] It was very difficult to control the Afghans from the distant Agra. However, allowing them to retain their strongholds around Agra could have amounte a potential threat to Agra. Hence, Babur was very careful in the distribution of revenue assignments to his nobles.

The contribution of the Afghans, on their part, to the expansion and consolidation of Babur's authority in Hindustan was no mean. As we notice from the tables given in various chapters showing the military assistance rendered by the Afghans to Babur, there was hardly any campaign in the post-Panipat period in which the Afghans were not deployed.

Even the saintly personages were also associated with various military ventures for the consolidation of Babur's authority. Babur,on his,part aptly rewarded the Afghans and kept them in humour by conferring titles and gifts upon them and mixing up with them socially, as can be seen from the appendices I to III at the end of this chapter. In view of the above, it would not be incorrect to say that the character of Babur's rule in Hindustan was indigenous, not foreign.

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Appendix - I

Afghan chiefs who were conferred titles

Sr.No.	Name of the chief	Title conferred	Occasion	Reference
1.	Dilawar Khan	Khan-i Khanan	When he broke away from his father, Daulat Khan, Lodi and joined Babur's service in 1524.	T.F. ii/25.
2.	Fath Khan Sarwani	Khan-i Jahan	at the time of his submission in 1526	B.N.ii/537
3.	Shaikh Ghuran	Abul Fath	Shaikh Ghuran was granted this title after the subjugation of Ilias Khan after the battle of Kanwah in 1527	_Mushtaqi_, Hind Rizvi, p. 440.
4.	Eldest son of Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi	Sultan Mahmud	Babur granted this title on the request of his father Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi when Babur visited his house in Karrah in 1529	B.N.ii/652,
5.	Alam Khan of Kalpi	Sultan*	Exact date and occasion is not known.	

* See Epigraphia India, _Arabic and Persian Supplement_, 1953-54, ed. Z. A. Desai, Calcut p. 36, as quoted by I. H. Siddiqi, _Mughal Relations with the Indian Ruling Elite_ (New Delhi, 1983), p. 52, n.3; also p. 15.

Appendix -II

Afghans who were conferred gifts and Robes of Honour

Name of the Noble	Items of weapons	Items of robe	Items of horses	Reference
1. Fath Khan Sarwani	-	Khilat-i khasa	asp-i zindar	<u>Baburnama</u>, B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 426a.
2. Ismail Jilwani	-	khilat-i khasa	tipuchaq	<u>Baburnama</u>, B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 514a.
3. Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi & his sons	-	-	yaktai & jama-i nimcha	<u>Baburnama</u>, B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 520a-b.
4. Musa Farmuli	-	sar-u-pa-khasa	asp-i zindar	<u>Baburnama</u>, B. M. MS. Or. 3714, ff. 514a, 518b.
5. Shah Muhammad	-	khilat-i khasa	tipuchaq	<u>Baburnama</u>, B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 518a
6. Yahya Nohani	-	sar-u-pa-i poshanda	-	<u>Baburnama</u>, B. M. MS. Or. 3714, f. 517a

Appendix- III

Afghans with whom Babur had Social Intercourse

	Name		Reference
1.	Alam Khan Lodi of Kalpi, s/o Jalal Khan Jighat	Babur visited the house of Alam Khan Lodi in Kalpi and had Hindustani food at his residence and received some offerings from him.	B. N. ii/590
2.	Jalal Khan Jighat f/o Alam Khan Lodi of Kalpi	Babur visited Jalal Khan Jighat's house in the suburbs of Agra in May, 1526.	B. N. ii/476.
3.	Fath Khan Sarwani s/o Azam Humayun	On November 14th 1526 when a wine party was organized in Charbagh Fath Khan Sarwani was invited to this party and offered wine.	B. N. ii/537
4.	Rao Sarwani	On October 1528 Babur visited his house in Sikandara	B. N. ii/587-88
5.	Shaikh Ghuran	Babur visited his house in Kol (Aligarh)	B. N. ii/587
6.	Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi	On March 4th, 1529, Babur visited the house of Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi in Kurrah fort and had cooked meat and other viands.	B. N. ii/652

Appendix - IV

Leading chiefs discussed in this thesis: Their positions vis-a-vis Babur*

Column No.	Column No.2	Column No.3	Column No.4	Column No.5	Column No.6	Column No.7
Sr.No.	Name	Those who submitted to Babur	Those who rebelled after having once submitted	Those who never submitted	Those who rendered military service	Those who were conferred revenue assignments
	LODIS					
1.	Daulat Khan Lodi s/o Tatar Khan Yusuf Khail Lodi	✓	✓			✓
2.	Ali Khan s/o Daulat Khan Lodi	✓				
3.	Ghazi Khan s/o Daulat Khan Lodi	✓	✓			
4.	Haji Khan s/o Daulat Khan Lodi			✓		
5.	Dilawar Khan s/o Daulat Khan Lodi	✓			✓	✓

* For references for the information given in the different columns of this table please see the biography of the respective noble.

Column No.1	Column No.2	Column No.3	Column No.4	Column No.5	Column No.6	Column No.7
6.	Ismail Khan s/o Ali Khan Lodi and f/o Daulat Khan Lodi	✓				
7.	Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi s/o Sultan Bahlol Lodi	✓	✓		✓	✓
8.	Jalal Khan s/o Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi	✓			✓	
9.	Kamal Khan s/o Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi	✓			✓	
10.	Sher Khan s/o Sultan Alauddin Alam Khan Lodi					
11.	Jalal Khan Jighat f/o Alam Khan Lodi of Kalpi	✓				
12.	Alam Khan Lodi of Kalpi s/o Jalal Khan Jighat	✓			✓	✓

Column No.1	Column No.2	Column No.3	Column No.4	Column No.5	Column No.6	Column No.7
13.	Daud Khan Lodi s/o Hatim Khan Lodi			✓		
14.	Hatim Khan Lodi b/o Daud Khan			✓		
15.	Sultan Mahmud Lodi s/o Sultan Sikandar Lodi			✓		
16.	Sultan Ibrahim Lodi's son	✓				
17.	Mubarak Khan Lodi			✓		
18.	Bihar Khan Lodi			✓		
	SARANG KHANIS					
19.	Tatar Khan Sarang Khani descendents of Jamal Khan Sarang Khani	✓			✓	✓
20.	Taj Khan Sarang Khani s/o Jamal Khan Sarang Khani	✓			✓	✓

Column No.1	Column No.2	Column No.3	Column No.4	Column No.5	Column No.6	Column No.7
21.	Firoz Khan Sarang Khani s/o Ahmad Khan and grandson of Jamal Khan Sarang Khani.	✓			✓	✓
22.	Hamid Khan Khasa Khail Sarang Khani			✓		
	NOHANIS					
23.	Bihar Khan Nohani s/o Darya Khan Nohani			✓		
24.	Jalal Khan Nohani s/o Bihar Khan Nohani	✓				✓
25.	Nasir Khan Nohani b/o Darya Khan Nohani and uncle of Bihar Khan Nohani			✓		
26.	Farid Khan Nohani s/o Nasir Khan Nohani	✓				

Column No.1	Column No.2	Column No.3	Column No.4	Column No.5	Column No.6	Column No.7
27.	Saif Khan Nohani s/o Darya Khan Nohani and brother of Bihar Khan Nohani					
28.	Bhikkan Khan Nohani			✓		
29.	Alaul Khan Nohani	✓				✓
30.	Mahmud Khan Nohani	✓			✓	✓
31.	Yahya Nohani	✓				✓
32.	Younger brother of Yahya Nohani	✓				
33.	Husain Khan Nohani			✓		
	FARMULIS					
34.	Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli	✓	✓		✓	✓
35.	Maruf Farmuli s/o Mian Gadai			✓		
36.	Musa Farmuli s/o Maruf Farmuli	✓			✓	✓
					✓	✓

Column No.1	Column No.2	Column No.3	Column No.4	Column No.5	Column No.6	Column No.7
38.	Ali Khan Farmuli	✓			✓	✓
39.	Ali Khan Farmuli's sons	✓				
40.	Shaikh Jamal Farmuli					
41.	Mian Sulaiman Farmuli of Indri					
	JILWANIS					
42.	Mian Bibban Jilwani s/o Mian Ata Sahu Khail	✓	✓			
43.	Ismail Khan Jilwani	✓				✓
44.	Mubarak Khan Jilwani			✓		
	SARWANI					
45.	Fath Khan Sarwani s/o Azam Humayun	✓	✓			✓
46.	Mahmud Sarwani s/o Fath Khan Sarwani	✓				

Column No.1	Column No.2	Column No.3	Column No.4	Column No.5	Column No.6	Column No.7
47.	Rao Sarwani	✓			✓	
48.	Qutab Khan Sarwani			✓		
	SURS					
49.	Sher Khan Sur s/o Mian Hasan Sur	✓	✓		✓	✓
50.	Alaul Khan Sur	✓				
	KARRANI					
51.	Malik Dad Karrani	✓			✓	✓
	THE CHIEF OF THE VICINITY OF AGRA					
52.	Nizam Khan of Biana younger brother of Alam Khan of Tahan-agar	✓			✓	✓
53.	Alam Khan of Tahanagari b/o Nizam Khan of Biana	✓	✓			
54.	Hasan of Kandahar					
55.	Mian Makan	✓				

Column No.1	Column No.2	Column No.3	Column No.4	Column No.5	Column No.6	Column No.7
56.	Hasan Khan of Bari	✓	✓			
57.	Muhammad Zaitun	✓			✓	✓
58.	Rustam Khan (Ilias Khan)			✓		
59.	Darya Khan			✓		
60.	Muhammad Marghub of Mahwin			✓		
61.	Qasim Sambhali	✓			✓	
62.	Milli Surduk	✓				
	OTHER UNIDENTIFIED CHIEFS					
63.	Araish Khan	✓			✓	
64.	Mula Muhammad Mazhab	✓				
65.	Qazi Jia	✓			✓	✓
66.	Hamid	✓			✓	
67.	Haibat Khan <u>gurgandaz</u>	✓	✓			
68.	Badruddin's son	✓				✓

Column No.1	Column No.2	Column No.3	Column No.4	Column No.5	Column No.6	Column No.7
69.	Mahmud Khan, the Shiqdar of Sikandarapur.	✓			✓	
70.	Aulya Khan Ashraqi	✓				
	CHIEFS ALLIED TO AFGHANS SHARQI MULTANI, MEWATI AND BHAKKARI					
	SHARQIS					
71.	Sultan Jallaudin Sharqi	✓			✓	
72.	Sons of Sultan Jalaluddin Sharqi	✓				
	MEWATIS					
73.	Hasan Khan Mewati			✓		✓
74.	Nahar Khan Mewati s/o Hasan Khan Mewati	✓	✓			
75.	Firoz Khan Mewati	✓				✓

Column No.1	Column No.2	Column No.3	Column No.4	Column No.5	Column No.6	Column No.7
	MULTANI					
76.	Mujahid Khan of Multan	✓			✓	
	BHAKHARI					
77.	Shaikh Muhammad of Shaikh Bhakkari	✓			✓	
	SAINTLY PERSONAGES					
78.	Shaikh Ghuran	✓			✓	
79.	Shaikh Jamali	✓				
80.	Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus	✓				
81.	Saiyyid Rafi	✓				

Appendix - V

Table showing the places which were in possession of the Afghans at the time of Babur's occupation of Agra in May, 1526.

Name of the fort/territories	Name of the Afghan chief
Biana	Nizam Khan
Tahanagar	Alam Khan
Mewat	Hasan Khan
Bari	Hasan Khan
Kandahar	Hasan
Mahawan	Muhammad Marghub
Kol	Shaikh Ghuran
Sambhal	Qasim Sambhali
Rapri	Husain Khan Nohani
Etawa	Qutab Khan
Dholpur	Muhammad Zaitun
Gwalior	Tatar Khan Sarang Khani
Kalpi	Alam Khan Lodi
Qanauj	Nasir Khan Nohani & Maruf Farmuli
Oudh & Bahraich	Shaikh Bayzid Farmuli
Karrah Manikpur	Fath Khan Sarwani
Chunar	Taj Khan Sarang Khani
Bihar	Bihar Khan Nohani (Sultan Muhammad)

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